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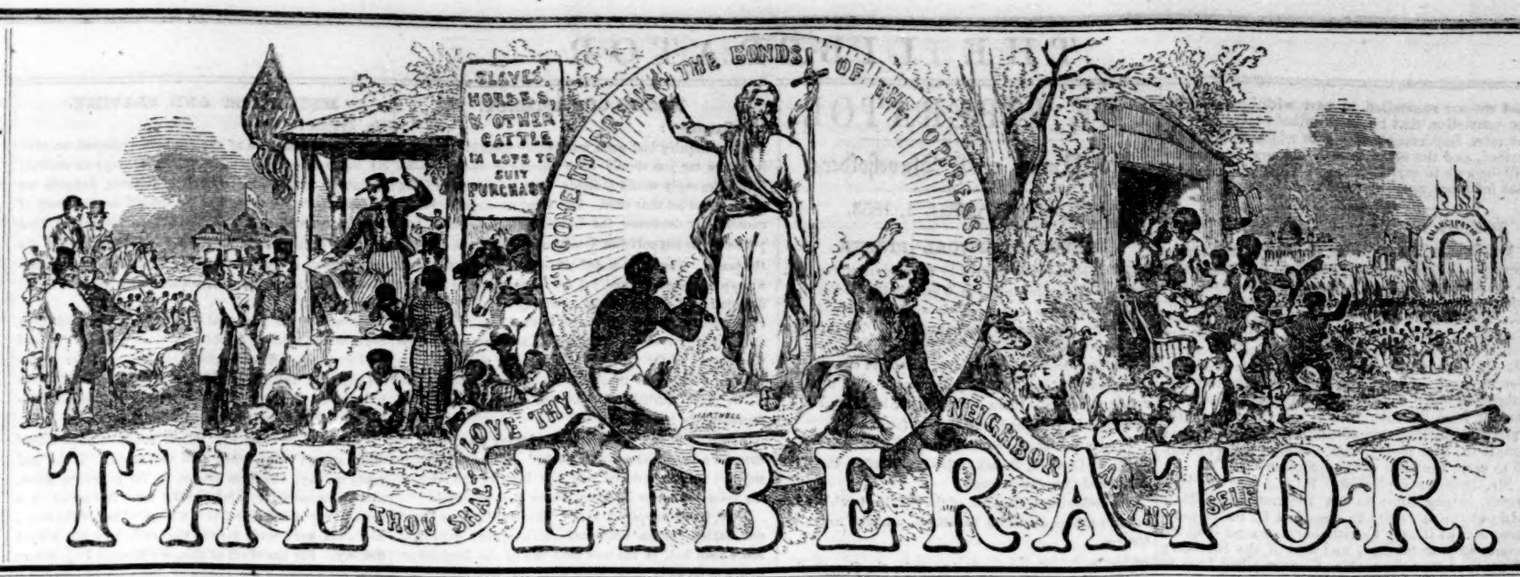
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☞ In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.



No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

MOST BARBAROUS ENACTMENT.

ACT TO PREVENT THE EMIGRATION OF FREE NEGROES INTO THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, That if any person or persons shall bring or cause to be brought into this State, any negro or mulatto whether said slave is set free or not, shall be liable to an indictment, and upon conviction thereof, be fined for every such negro or mulatto, a sum not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail not more than one year, and shall stand committed until said fine and costs are paid.

Sec. 2. When an indictment shall be found against any person or persons, who are not residents of this State, it shall be the duty of the court before whom said indictment is pending, upon affidavit being made and filed in said court by the prosecuting Attorney, or any other credible witness, setting forth the non-residence of said defendant, and showing the probable residence of said defendant, to notify the Governor of this State, by causing the Clerk of said court to transmit to the office of the Secretary of State a certified copy of said indictment and affidavit; and it shall be the duty of the Governor, upon the receipt of said copy, to appoint some suitable person to arrest said defendant or defendants, in whatever State or country he or they may be found, and to commit him or them to the jail of the county in which such indictment is pending—there to remain and answer said indictment, and be otherwise dealt with, in accordance with this act. And it shall be the duty of the Governor, to issue all the necessary requisitions, writs and papers to the Governor, or other executive officer of the State, territory, or province, where such defendant or defendants may be found: Provided that this section shall not be construed so as to affect persons or slaves *bona fide* travelling through this State from and to any other State in the United States.

Sec. 3. If any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall come into this State, and remain ten days with the evident intention of residing in the same, every such negro or mulatto shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and for the first offence, shall be fined the sum of fifty dollars, to be recovered before any justice of the peace, in the county where said negro or mulatto may be found; all proceedings shall be in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, and shall be tried by a jury of twelve men. The person making the information, or complaint, shall not be a competent witness upon said trial.

Sec. 4. If said negro or mulatto shall be found guilty, and the fine assessed be not paid forthwith by the justice of the peace, before whom said proceedings were had, it shall be the duty of said justice to commit said negro or mulatto to the custody of the sheriff of said county, or otherwise keep him, her or them, in custody: and said justice shall forthwith advertise said negro or mulatto, by posting up notices thereof in at least three of the most public places in his district, which said notices shall be posted up for ten days, and on the day, and at the time and place mentioned in said advertisement, the said justice shall at public auction proceed to sell said negro or mulatto, to any person or persons who will pay said fine and costs for the shortest time; and said purchaser shall have the right to compel said negro or mulatto to work for, and serve out said time, and he shall furnish said negro or mulatto with comfortable food, clothing and lodging, during said servitude.

Sec. 5. If said negro or mulatto shall not within ten days after the expiration of his, her, or their term of service, as aforesaid, leave the State, he, she, or they shall be liable to a second prosecution, and the penalty to be inflicted shall be one hundred dollars, and so on for every subsequent offence, the penalty shall be increased fifty dollars over and above the last penalty inflicted, and the same proceedings shall be had in each case as is provided for in the proceeding sections for the first offence.

Sec. 6. Said negro or mulatto shall have a right to take an appeal to the circuit court of the county in which said proceedings shall have been had, within five days after the rendition of the judgment, before the justice of the peace, by giving bond and security, to be approved by the clerk of said court to the people of the State of Illinois, which bond shall be filed in the office of said clerk within said five days, in double the amount of said fine and all costs, conditioned that the party appealing will personally be and appear before said circuit court, at the next term thereof, and not depart said court without leave; and will pay said fine and all costs, if the same shall be so adjudged by said court, and said security shall have the right to take said negro or mulatto into custody, and retain the same until the order of said court is complied with. And if the judgment of the justice of the peace be affirmed in whole or in part, and said negro be found guilty, the said circuit court shall thereupon render judgment against said negro or mulatto, and the security or securities on said appeal bond, for the amount of fine so found by the court, and all costs of suit, and the clerk of said court shall forthwith issue an execution against said defendants and security as in other cases, and the sheriff or other officer to whom said execution is directed shall proceed to collect the same by sale or otherwise: Provided, That this section shall not be so construed as to give the security on said appeal the right to retain the custody of said negro or mulatto for a longer time than ten days, after the rendition of said judgment by said circuit court.

Sec. 7. In all cases arising under the provisions of this act, the prosecuting witness or person making the complaint and prosecuting the same, shall be entitled to one-half of the fine so imposed and collected, and the residue of said fine shall be paid into the county treasury of the county in which the proceedings were had; and said fines, when collected, shall be received by said county treasurer, and kept by him as a distinct and separate fund, to be called the 'charity fund,' and said fund shall be used for the express purpose of relieving the poor of said county, and shall be paid out by said treasurer upon the order of the county court of said county, drawn upon him for that purpose.

Sec. 8. If, after any negro or mulatto shall have been arrested under the provisions of this act, any person or persons shall claim any such negro or mulatto as a slave, the owner, by himself or agent, shall have right, by giving reasonable notice to the said claimer or person having the custody of said negro or mulatto, to appear before the justice of the peace before whom said negro or mulatto shall have been arrested, and prove his or their right to the custody of said negro or mulatto as a slave, and if said justice of the peace shall, after hearing the evidence, be satisfied that the person or persons claiming said negro or mulatto is the owner and entitled to the custody of said negro or mulatto, in accordance with the laws of the United States passed upon this subject, he shall, upon the owner or agent paying all costs up to the time of claiming said negro or mulatto, and the cost of proving the same, and also the balance of the fine remaining unpaid, give to said owner a certificate of said facts, and said owner or agent so claiming, shall have a right to take and remove said slave out of the State.

Sec. 9. If any justice of the peace shall refuse to issue any writ or process necessary for the arrest and prosecution of any negro or mulatto, under the provisions of this act, upon complaint being made before said justice by any resident of his county, and his fees for said service being tendered him, shall be deemed guilty of non-feasance in office, and upon conviction thereof punished accordingly, and in all cases where the jury find for the negro or mulatto, or that he, she, or they, are not guilty under the provisions of this act, the said justice of the peace shall proceed to render judgment against the prosecuting witness, or person making the complaint, and shall collect the same as other judgments: Provided, That said prosecuting witness or person making said complaint, in case judgment is rendered against him, shall have a right to take an appeal to the Circuit Court, as is provided for in this act, in case said negro or mulatto is found guilty.

Sec. 10. Every person who shall have one-fourth negro blood shall be deemed a mulatto.

Sec. 11. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved February 12th, 1853.

This law we do not hesitate to pronounce unjust, but brutal in the extreme, and is another of the results which have been secured by those rampant spirits who set law and order at defiance, and join in treasonable demonstrations against the Government for the purpose of overturning the established precedents which have guided us in days past, and breaking down all barriers interposed between the Constitution and traitors. One of the fruits of their insane proceedings is seen in the passage of such a disgraceful enactment, which, as the law of that State, must be obeyed. Must be obeyed we say, for we hold it to be a self-evident principle, that to preserve the institutions of our land free from innovation, every citizen is bound to obey the laws which have been enacted in accordance with the established Constitution.

We regret that we are called upon to record the passage of this law, for we cannot but consider it inhuman and cruel. The colored race are permitted to enjoy very many privileges at the North, which, if their pretended friends persist in 'spitting upon the Constitution,' may be curtailed by a sudden, ill-timed and injudicious movement. We should be sorry to see such a state of things existing, and we hope and pray the efforts of a few fanatics may never bring upon us that shame. We wish to live in peace and harmony with all people, and if a few hot heads are held in curb, there will be no difficulty in so doing.—*Albany Transcript.*

SELECTIONS.

From the Worcester Spy.

ILLINOIS A SLAVE STATE.

Illinois has voluntarily become a Slave State. Her Legislature has just passed a law, which parallels in atrocity the Fugitive Slave Law, and which distinguishes her as the most infamous of all the States in the Union.

South Carolina may now bow her head, and hang her harp upon the willows. Illinois goes beyond her, in unconstitutional, inhospitable, inhuman, God-defying legislation, and stands up before the civilized world as the cynosure of those Republican States, from which nations may learn the way to be infamous, without knowing how to think of shame.

This law of Illinois permits slaveholders to carry their slaves through the State. It confers upon them the right of transit, which the Doughfaces of New York were so anxious to confer upon Lemmon and his slaves. The 'free soil' of Illinois cannot now, under any circumstances, become free to a slave. If his master carries him into the State, he can hold him. If he enters it, himself, he can be seized, imprisoned, and finally sold again into slavery, to reimburse the great republic of Illinois for the trouble of depriving him of his liberty.

This, however, is only one of the abominable features of this, so called, law.

If any colored citizen of Massachusetts, or any other free State, having one fourth part of negro blood in his veins, enters Illinois and remains there for ten days, he is liable to a fine of fifty dollars; and if he does not pay said fine, he shall be sold at auction as a SLAVE.

Think of these things, and think of the provision of the Constitution, which says that the citizens of the several States shall have all the rights of citizens in each of the States. The legislature of Illinois assumes the right to dispose of the liberty of certain of our fellow-citizens, in direct defiance of this Constitutional law; and it will not allow them to pursue their legitimate business, over the borders of Illinois. The Constitution is a pleasant fiction, *out there.* They read it in law libraries, but they do not put any confidence in its statements or principles. The human auction block, the yoke of bondage, and the slave pen, are seemingly more germain to the aspirations and principles of Illinois democracy, than the principles of the Declaration of Independence, or the institutions of freedom. Illinois is now, by her own act, a slave State.

The Boston *Courier* attributes this circumstance to the Free Soilers and Abolitionists. The *Courier* says it is a consequence of anti-slavery agitation. One would suppose the *Courier* to be joking, if it was possible for that paper to indulge in such a pleasant pastime. But as it cannot joke, of course, it is terribly in earnest when it makes this charge. It says that Free Soilers and Abolitionists have encouraged slaves to run away, until Illinois is burdened with negro paupers, and that it is to protect herself, that that Commonwealth makes her present stringent statute. Of course, the *Courier* considers the legislature of Illinois justifiable in the course it has pursued, and probably would be pleased if Massachusetts would sell into slavery the whole Irish population of our State, because Irish crowd our almshouses in a tenfold greater proportion than colored paupers do those of Illinois. The humanity, justice, or Christianity of the act, does not seem to occupy the *Courier's* attention for a moment. If it *pays* in Illinois to do this thing, then, according to the logic of the *Courier*, she has sufficient right and cause to do it.

The *Courier* thus explains the philosophy of Dr. Dewey's declaration, that he would send his mother to slavery if the law provided he should do so; and it also lets us see the holy, pious, pure, benevolent source from which have issued all those clerical expressions of admiration for slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, which have rung from the pulpits for the last three years.

Dr. Dewey so hates slavery, that he would send his mother into it to abolish it; and Dr. Dewey's clerical confreres are so eager to abolish slavery, that they cannot give sufficient expression to their admiration of the laws made to sustain it; neither can they find language bitter enough, with which to stigmatize those who profess to believe that God's law is a higher law than the slave law.

The *Courier* says, that the legitimate consequence of bearing testimony against sin and crime is the increase thereof, and, of course, it must also maintain the converse of this proposition, which is, that the legitimate consequence of encouraging crime is its diminution. According to the *Courier's* moral philosophy, the Savior of men was encouraging wickedness when he rebuked the Scribes and Pharisees, and called sinners to repentance.

The inference to be drawn from the reasoning of the *Courier* is, that if he had acted like those eminent Christians, Dr. Dewey and Daniel Webster, everybody, in these days, would have been as good as he could be, and freedom, humanity, and millennial gladness would have filled the world with their glorious presence.

But we understand why the *Courier* wishes to throw the responsibility of this law of Illinois upon Free Soilers and Abolitionists. We know the secret of its present stupid mode of reasoning. It still possesses one spark of human feeling, and some sense of shame. It knows that Daniel Webster's 7th of March speech begat the Fugitive Slave Law; the Fugitive Slave Law begat the two Baltimore platforms; and the two Baltimore platforms begat the recent Slave Laws of California and Illinois. The whole brood of tyranny and oppression are traceable to the stupendous apostacy of the *Courier's* idol, and it knows it. It is on this account, therefore, that it denounces this act of injustice and cruelty as the work of Free Soilers. It knows where the guilt belongs, but is too cowardly to own it.

Does the *Courier* know that there is an armed expedition now on its way from the United States to Japan, to call the Japanese to account for a law similar to that of Illinois, but far less atrocious, inasmuch as it does not apply to their own countrymen? We should like for the *Courier* to tell us whether the friends or enemies of slavery are responsible for the law of Japan. If it does not know, we would advise it to consider the subject.

It will be a sad day for the world when there are not men in it good enough and brave enough to denounce and defy unjust laws. We trust in God that such a day of shame and sadness will never throw its shadow on this continent, notwithstanding the responsibility which the *Courier* attaches to agitation.

From the Hartford Republican.

BARBARISM.

The State of Illinois, (may God save our feet from ever touching her soil!) has just passed one of the most atrocious laws ever written in a statute-book. It is entitled '*An Act to prevent the emigration of free negroes into this State.*' We will hastily sketch its provisions. * * * * * *

Is it *true* that we live in a country where God is worshipped, and His Laws are reverenced? Is this a land of liberty? Where are Drs. Dewey, Taylor, and Lord, and will *they* who have justified the catching of runaway slaves, now defend *the imprisonment of freemen*, for no crime whatever, *and their reduction to a state of Slavery?* We presume they will. It is not enough to insist that no slave shall be freed—it will not suffice to refetter every negro, who, in his horrible anguish, has snapt asunder his chains. We must begin the work of manufacturing slaves—*here at the North!* Here, where the ground is not yet dry of the blood of revolutionary heroes!—where we shout ourselves hoarse for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. And this damnable business has commenced in a Free State—in a State that should be proud of its liberties, which should maintain them, but shall forever after this be a byword among the nations. A hundred slaveholders cannot be found throughout the entire South, wicked enough and mean enough to pass such a law. Legree himself would have shrunk back with affright from *such* an iniquity. To hold slaves is one thing—but to deliberately *sell at auction* free men is a more stupendous wickedness. The laws of all Northern States punish severely the individual kidnapper—but the Legislators of the State of Illinois are kidnappers of the blackest type. And they shall verily have their reward. The civilized world will pronounce their names with horror, and the day is coming when, even in dark, benighted Illinois, their memory shall excite only shame and loathing. Talk of the oppression of England! We know from what we have seen with our own eyes, that there *is* oppression there; but we would sooner take the position of the most miserable peasant or artisan in all Britain, than live a white freeman in Illinois! Our religious papers, our churches, our clergymen, are weeping prodigious tears over the Madiai family—have they one word to say in reference to this law which makes chattels of freemen! We shall see.

INFERNAL LEGISLATION.

Southern slaveholders have a passion for mischief framed into law, which attracts the attention of the civilized world. Yet, with all their ardor for slavery, they do not know how to be guilty of such mean, detestable, low-minded, base-hearted scoundrelism, in matters touching the slavery question, as a certain class of pro-slavery politicians in the North. We have this fully illustrated by a recent act of legislation in Illinois,—an act so base, so atrocious, that the devil must conclude that his services are no longer needed in that State—the pro-slavery politicians there being quite able to beat him at his own work.

To clap the climax of this shameless scoundrelism, put forth as law, the act provides that, after paying to the prosecutor one half of the money thus accruing from the prosecution and sale of negroes and mulattoes, the remainder shall 'be kept as a distinct and separate fund, *to be called* THE CHARITY FUND, *and said fund shall be used for the express purpose of relieving the poor*'!!! This is intended as a religious consecration of deviliism. It is a great thing to seem religious; hence we have stories of bloody robbers and other great scoundrels who endowed shrines, and made a large use of the airs and trappings of sanctimoniousness.

Virginia cannot be so base as that. The recent attempt there to enact atrocious laws against the free blacks, and the indignation which at once arose and baffled it, shows that the Old Dominion, in spite of the disastrous influence of her peculiar institution, has a grace of humanity and a sense of self-respect, to which the legislators of Illinois are utter strangers. True, such things in the free States show the influence of slavery, which more or less degrades and debauches the whole country. But the slave laws of Virginia are ordered by the slave system as it exists there; while such things in a free State show nothing so clearly as the servile rascality of pro-slavery politicians.

In Illinois, some of the papers, both Whig and Democratic, are denouncing the new black law. Very few of the people relish it, and many of them spurn it and spit upon it. It will be a dead letter in all the Northern part of the State, it is said. The matter bids fair to provoke a vehement agitation of the slavery question in that quarter. That enactment seems likely to bring a tempest on the heads of its infamous framers, most of whom have the word Democracy upon their unhallowed lips, and sanctimoniously profess that among the inalienable rights of man, are liberty and the pursuit of happiness.—*Commonwealth.*

THE ILLINOIS SLAVE LAW.

A correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, in Missouri, in giving a sketch of affairs in that State, concludes his letter as follows:—

'But while I speak thus of slaveholders in Missouri, the free State of Illinois has just passed one of the most atrocious, and, as I believe, unconstitutional laws, which ever disgraced a statute book. I enclose you a copy. It is a crime against civilization, against liberty, against Christianity, against God. Without crime, without immorality, without pauperism, with every Christian virtue, and with wealth, a man upon whom has been forced one-fourth tincture of African blood, may be sold into slavery, if he steps over the sacred limits of free suckerdom! There is not a gentleman South of the Potomac, or West of the Mississippi, whose honorable feeling does not revolt at the selling of a free-born colored man into slavery, without crime, and without his being otherwise a charge upon the State. We regard them as an unfortunate race, and for that very reason to be protected, and not victimized. But the State across the river has passed an act—notwithstanding the ordinance of '87—for the institution of slavery. It is not services that are sold. It is the man himself that is sold, and if there is no competition at the sale, he is sold for life; and Illinois is a slave State. I believe Indiana has a law approximating in sublimity to this. The South would soon amend her institutions, if let alone. Allow me to recommend a diversion to the Garrisonites and Parkerites; to turn their attention to those two free States above mentioned, and their own more particular sisterhood, and let a truce prevail betwixt the South and them for a while. It will be productive of mutual benefit.

'I sincerely hope, Messrs. Editors, that your own paper, and every other honorable organ of public opinion, North and South, will notice this new slave State in such complimentary terms as the law deserves; and especially its provision for a *charity* fund.'

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, March 17.

Mr. STEARNS, of Mansfield, asked leave to introduce the following resolves, desiring their reference to the Committee on the Madiai family:—

Whereas, the State of Illinois has passed a law, approved by the Governor, February 12, 1853, to go into immediate effect, which provides as follows:—

'Sec. 3. If any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall come into the State and remain ten days, with the evident intention of residing in the same, every such negro or mulatto shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and for the first offence shall be fined the sum of fifty dollars, to be recovered before any Justice of the Peace in the county where such negro or mulatto may be found. Said proceedings shall be in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, and shall be tried by a jury of twelve men. The person making the information or complaint shall not be a competent witness upon said trial.

Sec. 4. If said negro or mulatto shall be found guilty, and the fine assessed be not paid forthwith to the Justice of the Peace before whom said proceedings were had, it shall be the duty of said Justice to commit said negro or mulatto to the custody of the sheriff of said county, or otherwise keep him, her or them, in custody; and said Justice shall forthwith advertise said negro or mulatto, by posting up notices thereof in at least three of the most public places in the district, which said notices shall be posted up for ten days, and on the day, and at the time and place mentioned in said advertisement, the said Justice shall, at public auction, proceed to sell said negro or mulatto to any person or persons who will pay said fine and cost for the shortest time; and said purchaser shall have the right to compel said negro or mulatto to work for and serve out said time, and he shall furnish said negro or mulatto with comfortable food, clothing and lodging, during said servitude.

'Sec. 5. If said negro or mulatto shall not, within ten days after the expiration of his, her or their term of service, as aforesaid, leave the State, he, she or they shall be liable to a second prosecution, in which the penalty to be inflicted shall be one hundred dollars; and so on for every subsequent offence this penalty shall be increased fifty dollars over and above the last penalty inflicted; and the same proceedings shall be had in each case as is provided for in the preceding section for the first offence.

'Sec. 10. Every person who shall have one-fourth negro blood, shall be deemed a mulatto.'

Therefore, Resolved, That we consider this law of the State of Illinois as in direct violation of the social compact which binds us together as States; that it is in direct violation of the Declaration of American Independence, which says that 'all men are created equal, and have certain inalienable rights,—among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' that it is in violation of the preamble to the Constitution of the United States, which says it was 'formed to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,' &c.; that it is contrary to the 4th article, 2d section of said Constitution, which says, 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states'; that that it is contrary to the 4th section of the same article in said Constitution, which reads, 'the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government;' that this law is therefore anti-republican and unconstitutional.

Resolved, That the said law of Illinois is in direct violation of the plain dictates of humanity, as well as in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and cannot but be looked upon with abhorrence by every Christian throughout the world, and ought to be immediately repealed.

Resolved, That the government of the State of Illinois be requested to take measures, at the earliest opportunity, to have the aforesaid law repealed; to this end, it is proposed that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Governor of said State of Illinois, without delay.

On motion of Mr. BOOTH, of Boston, the resolves were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TO THE POINT.

The following timely and pertinent Resolutions were introduced to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, last week, and make a snug fit:—

Mr. PRINCE of Essex, asked leave of the House to introduce the following resolves, with a view of having them referred to the special committee on the Madiai family:—

Resolved, That while expressing the deepest sympathy for the Madiai family in their suffering, for conscience's sake, the tyrannous and cruel imprisonment inflicted by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, we likewise give utterance to the most profound sympathy and commiseration for those in some portions of our country, who are denied by the laws of the States wherein they reside, not only the privilege of reading the Bible, but the privilege of reading any book whatsoever, and even prohibited, under severe penalties, from learning to read and write.*

Resolved, That we are pained by the mortifying consideration, that the conduct of the Grand Duke aforesaid, has in more than one instance been paralleled in the United States of America,—as in the case of the flogging of Amos Dresser, a colporteur, (which took place in a public square in the city of Nashville, Tenn.) for having in his possession certain religious publications which he was charged with designing to circulate among a certain class of the population of that vicinity,—and, also, in the case of Chauncey B. Blake, an agent of a Bible Society, who was arraigned before Recorder Baldwin, in the city of New Orleans, for asking a few persons whom he met in the street if they could read, and if they would accept the gift of a Bible or Testament.

Resolved, That to convince His Grace the Grand Duke aforesaid that we are not personally invidious nor influenced by national prejudice in offering our protest against his treatment of the Madiai family, we herewith assure him that we entertain an equal degree of abhorrence of the laws of some of the States of the American Union, which trammel and abridge the freedom of religious worship, and of which the following is a sample:—'It shall not be lawful for any FREE negro or negroes, slave or slaves, to assemble or ATTEND *any* meeting for RELIGIOUS PURPOSES, unless conducted by a *white* licensed or ordained preacher, or some respectable *white* person or persons of the neighborhood, as may be duly authorized by such licensed or ordained preacher, during the continuance of such meeting.'†

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted to each each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the Governors of the several States of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Missouri, and also to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Mr. PRINCE, in support of his request, remarked that while we looked to the oppressions by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and while religious tolerance was claimed beyond our borders, we had much to improve and remove among ourselves. By deprecating the whole system of religious intolerance and oppression wherever it had existence, the public would believe that the Legislature meant something; but by reproving only one instance, others being so glaring, the people would consider they meant nothing,

Mr. NAYSON, of Amesbury, was in favor of granting leave for the introduction of the resolves, and of all others, on whatever topics gentlemen might be pleased to select. The committee on the Madiai resolves hold a meeting on Tuesday morning in the Senate chamber, and he hoped all who had matters to introduce would present them before that time, so that they might reach the committee before its last meeting. He would suggest, however, that if any one had anything to offer relative to the ostracism and injuries committed upon the Mormons, or other wrongs whatever, that they now bring in their resolves.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Boston, hoped the gentleman would have leave to introduce the resolves, and that all others who wished to introduce any matter that interested them would also have leave, and that they would severally be referred to committees. When the committees reported upon them, he should hope there would then be a full discussion. If gentlemen then wished to discuss matters that were none of their business, and about which they did not know, they could do so; but he regarded it beneath the dignity of a sovereign State to interfere with the municipal regulations of any State or nation.

Mr. PRINCE responded, that the matter under consideration was of our business, about which we did fully know. If gentlemen would examine his resolves, they would find notes appended to them, referring to certain books now in the State Library, which could be seen by all; and all could be informed upon this matter, at least, if they wished.

Mr. THOMPSON reiterated the remark that it was beneath the dignity of this House to interfere with any police regulations which any community might establish for its safety and protection. What was it to us what laws the Grand Duke of Tuscany or our sister States prescribed for their people? Supposing the Grand Duke of Tuscany should take it into his head to arraign Massachusetts for not indemnifying the sufferers for the destruction of the Ursuline Convent, and should send his opinion here; would not every man feel that it was an insult to us, and none of his business what we did, or did not do?

Mr. MORSE, of Lowell, defended the resolves relative to the Madiai family, which he had introduced, and maintained that nations had a right to inquire into the conduct of other nations upon great questions, and quoted Lord John Russell's instructions to Sir E. L. Bulwer and Hon. Edward Everett, on the same subject, in support of his position—the opinion of gentlemen as intelligent as any that could be named.

Mr. WIGGIN, of Boston, rose to a point of order, that the gentleman was out of order both in discussing the Madiai resolves, and in reading the opinions of any body else.

The SPEAKER said, that as a wide range had been taken in the discussion, with the general consent of the House, and as it was the usual courtesy to allow a gentleman to read quotations, if he wished, in his argument, he must rule the member in order.

Mr. THOMPSON thought the opinion of Lord John Russell, or anybody else, on this floor, on any subject, was no more valuable than that of any member. The present occasion was not the most suitable to reply to the position taken; but when the committee reported, he thought the opinion of Lord John could be satisfactorily met.

Mr. GREENE, of Amherst, called for the previous question.

Mr. PRINCE rose to a question of privilege, but on stating that it had reference to a wish to be heard a third time, in answer to an objection made to the resolutions, the SPEAKER ruled that the wish was not a cause for a question of privilege.

The question of granting leave to introduce the resolutions was then put, and declared carried; the vote being doubted, a count was had,—98 yeas, 27 nays.

On motion of Mr. PRINCE, the resolves were then referred to the Committee on the Madiai matter,

Mr. ROBINSON, of Lowell, moved that the resolves be printed. Negatived, 78 to 44.

* See Cobb's *New Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, (published in the year 1851,) page 981, act entitled 'Slaves, Patrols, and *Free* Persons of Color,' Sec. 39.

Also, see *Laws of Missouri* passed at the session of 1846–7, page 103. (Mass. State Library.)

† See Judge Dorsey's compilation of the *Laws of Maryland*, vol. ii. page 1071, chap. 323, sec. 7. (Mass. State Library.)

MORE SLAVEHOLDING INIQUITY.

The Washington correspondent of the Ashtabula *Sentinel* (Hon. J. R. Giddings) writing from the capital on the 4th instant, tells the following additional instance of the domination of the Slave Power:—

'I think it was on Friday last, that an effort was made to suspend the rules of the House, in order to take up the private claim of Benjamin Hazard Wigg, of South Carolina, whose grand-father, in 1780, lost ninety-six slaves. This claim, from its extraordinary character, is destined to figure somewhat in the political history of our times, and individuals who came forward to distinguish themselves by sustaining it, are justly entitled to all the honor or the disgrace attending such an act. But I cannot now go into a description of it. The motion failed, however, at that time. * * *

On Wednesday, every member felt the danger of losing the appropriation bills, for want of time to pass them. The *Intelligencer* came out with a long article, purporting to be written by a lady, in favor of the Wigg claim before alluded to, and the older members foresaw that that bill was to pass. In the course of the day, the motion was made to suspend the rules of the House, and all other business, both private and public, in order to take up this claim. A herald passed around among the members, informing them that the motion was about to be made. This was to give the doughfaces an opportunity to *vamose* before the question was put; and you will see, by looking at the yeas and nays, that they took the alarm. The yeas and nays on suspending the rules and all other business were called, and the names of men were recorded for the motion, who, in coming time, will regret the stain they have thus brought upon their own characters by such disgraceful servility. But the bill passed, and your readers are constrained to pay for slaves who left their masters in South Carolina seventy years since, while thousands of men lost their all by furnishing the army with supplies, and taking their pay in Continental funds. The nation repudiates its just debts, but pays for slaves.'

Frm the (Boston) New England Gazette. (German.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Travellers who describe the Pantheon at Athens, cannot find words to express their admiration at the magic effect of those rows of apparently so simple pillars, supporting their simple roof. The exquisite proportions of the outline, the æsthetic grace, which has no where allowed a deviation from the strict line of beauty, from the gradually diminishing shafts to the tasteful architrave, and the elegant sculpture of the triglyph, produce so harmonious and overpowering an effect, that no thought is left for individual criticism, but the eye hastens continually from one new beauty to another.

Wendell Phillips, as an orator, is the modern revolutionary spirit in a classic form, and it is he who, together with Theodore Parker, gives shape to every new development of the anti-slavery movement, and thus imprint upon their speeches the stamp of that vast movement which is irresistibly hurrying all along. The theme which he chose on Thursday evening was the justification of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from the attacks of its enemies and pretended friends. The twenty-years struggle of the New England abolitionists, carried on for the human rights of three and a half millions of their fellow-men against the terrible oppression of a thousand million of dollars in the hands of a hundred thousand experienced oppressors, appears in the eloquent images of the New England orator, already illuminated by the lofty radiance of the Future, which will forever honor the martyr-spirit of the abolitionists, the steady pioneers of the greatest cause in the United States.

In the meetings of the abolitionists, and especially where the varied tones of Phillips's eloquence are holding the great assembly in breathless attention, we feel the deep truth of the saying, that 'What goes to the heart must come from the heart.' Already, many of the first intellects and noblest characters in the United States are to be numbered among the converts to abolitionism, as J. P. Hale, Charles Sumner, and, before all others, Joshua Giddings, and now Harriet Beecher Stowe, in the second generation, brings her unsurpassed offering to the cause, after her famous father had refused, twenty-two years before, to put the iron of abolitionism into his fire, because he had already too many there.

Wendell Phillips ranks among the first orators of the United States. In logic, sarcasm and true pathos, we have never seen his equal. The Future must be where such men stand!

MR. PARKER'S LECTURE. Rev. Theodore Parker, of Boston, lectured before the Female Anti-Slavery Society, at the City Hall, on Friday evening. The building was crowded with a large and intelligent audience, who gave the closest attention to a lecture of over an hour and a half in length. At its conclusion, many expressed the wish that it had been far longer.

Mr. Parker's subject was 'slavery and its relation to the institutions of the country.' Although Mr. Parker has been charged with being a fanatic, an ultraist, and infidel, and we know not how much more, we must confess to a hearty sympathy with the doctrines he taught in his lecture. They were the soundest democracy—such as Jefferson and the noblest minds of the revolution would have approved. If Mr. Parker is a fanatic, we wish that kind of fanaticism prevailed a little more extensively.

The lecture was one of the best treatises on the genius and great idea of our republican institutions, we have ever heard or read. Its positions were founded in truth, and nobly assumed and maintained. Its reasonings were plain and logical, and its facts bearing upon the subject most carefully collated and arranged.

Such lectures will do good, and we hope to have more of them. They are appeals to men's best judgments, which cannot but be answered by a corresponding beauty in their daily lives.

Next week, Mr. Parker Pillsbury is announced to speak before the Society.—*New Bedford Standard.*

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

TAKING LEAVE.

My connection with *The Freeman* ceases with the present issue. The reasons which have impelled me to terminate thus suddenly a relation in every respect so agreeable to myself, and which I had fondly hoped would be permanent, are given in the 'Statement of the Executive Committee,' which will be found below; so that little remains for me, except to take a fraternal leave of my Pennsylvania friends, and to prepare myself as I best may for the duties of another but not less responsible position.

I must bear witness, that during a somewhat varied and extensive anti-slavery experience, I have nowhere found warmer, truer, or more generous friends, than those who have cheered my labors at the post I am now about to vacate; and it is a source of heartfelt gratification to be able to say, that my departure is impelled by no alienation of feeling and no disagreement of opinions between myself and my co-laborers, nor by any lack of desire on their part to retain my services, but solely by the conviction that, however much I may be needed here, I am *more* needed at another place.

It has been my fortune, at one time or another, to be connected editorially with all the papers in our country that are devoted to the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause, as represented by the American Anti-Slavery Society. On various occasions, during the absence of Mr. Garrison in Great Britain or elsewhere, I have occupied (though far enough from filling) the editorial chair of *The Liberator*. In 1840—41, I was the resident editor of *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, (the late N. P. Rogers having been little more than the nominal editor.) Subsequently, I was for two years the editor of *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*, at Salem, Ohio. And now I close a connection of about a year and a half with *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, to become 'reännexed' to *The Standard*. Having thus occupied the four 'cardinal points' of anti-slavery observation, (to say nothing of other removals from place to place at various times,) my friends might well be pardoned if they should regard me as a 'wandering star,' and begin to think it time that I had found my appropriate niche, and learned 'to be therewith content.' And really, this latter suggestion *would* seem, on the whole, to be entitled to my gravest consideration; and, as my anti-slavery associates appear to be all united in the belief that New York is *just the place for me*, I am induced to hope they will not call me away for some time to come—certainly not until my more distant friends shall have had a fair opportunity to learn my whereabouts.

But I do not reproach myself with fickleness or discontent in view of these frequent removals. It is not for the soldier in a moral any more than in a physical conflict arbitrarily to choose the post at which he will serve; still less may he refuse to remove from one point to another as the exigencies of the battle may require. True, the soldier on the moral battle-field is not subject to the iron sway of a dictator, nor obliged to leave an old position for a new one, except for reasons that convince his own judgment; but he is sacredly bound to hold the interests of the cause he professes to serve paramount, under all circumstances, to merely personal considerations. If, in my endeavors to cherish this spirit of self-abnegation, I have been frequently required to change my residence, and to deprive myself of the convenience and comforts of a settled home, I do not see that the fact requires any apology. Instead of regarding it as a calamity, let me rather rejoice that I have had the privilege, in various places and under circumstances well adapted to facilitate the study of human nature, of rendering some service, however humble, to those whose only home is the gloomy Bastile of American Slavery!

During my connection with *The Freeman*, I have suffered not a little from ill health, and consequently have been unable to do for it much of that which my mind had planned and my heart desired to accomplish. But I have done what I could, and this its readers have more than appreciated. A few weeks in the country, under the genial influence of the opening spring, with rest from mental toil and plenty of exercise in the open air, will, I hope, recruit my overtaxed energies, and prepare me to approach the duties of my new position (about the middle of May) with renewed courage and vigor.

There is little need that I should add anything to what the Executive Committee have so well said of my successor. His talents and his fidelity are acknowledged by all who know him, while his experience as an editor and his love of anti-slavery principles qualify him to make *The Freeman* eminently serviceable to the cause. I trust, therefore, that the abolitionists of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware will rally with new zeal to its support, and that they will encourage both the editor and the Executive Committee by their constant and hearty coöperation.

Our anti-slavery presses, both local and national, are all needed and must be sustained. There is no occasion for any but the most friendly rivalry between them. The interest of one is the interest of all. A vigorous support of the local papers will help *The Standard*, while the wide circulation of the latter cannot fail to open new channels of influence to the former. I trust, therefore, that the readers of *The Freeman* will not attribute it to personal feeling or interest on my part, if I express the earnest hope that they will lend a helping hand in the effort to enlarge the usefulness of the National Society, and to increase the circulation of its organ. While this will be the special object of my labors in the new field to which I have been invited, I shall still cherish a heartfelt interest in the State Societies, and do all in my power to give new vigor to their movements.

To my brethren of the editorial profession, whose friendly courtesies I have had so many occasions to acknowledge, I scarcely need offer a parting word, since I hope, through another channel, speedily to renew my intercourse with them. There is not one among them all, toward whom I cherish an unfriendly feeling; and if, in the heat of discussion, I have ever treated any of them with injustice or discourtesy, I can only ask them to forgive as they expect to be forgiven.

And now, dear readers and friends! thanking you for the many tokens of friendly regard which I have received at your hands, and which I can never forget, and hoping that you may 'endure to the end,' I bid you an affectionate, a regretful, but at the same time a hopeful farewell!

OLIVER JOHNSON.

☞ The Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, in noticing the resignation of Mr. Johnson, remark—

A careful consideration of these reasons, and a deep conviction of their importance, overcomes the strong reluctance which we feel at parting with a valued friend and coadjutor, whose labors as an editor, and whose counsels and assistance as a member of our Executive Committee, have been highly esteemed by our friends and constituents, and have undoubtedly promoted the anti-slavery enterprise in Pennsylvania. We believe, however, that fidelity to our cause leaves us no alternative but acquiescence; and as the promotion of the interests of the American A. S. Society is the promotion of our cause at large, we doubt not that Pennsylvania will reap her full share of the advantages to be derived from this new arrangement, and be amply compensated for any present regret she may feel in its adoption.

We are happy in being able to announce as Mr. Johnson's successor, one whose fidelity to our cause has been long tried and fully proved, and to whose industry and ability as editor, the readers of *The Freeman* will gladly testify; Cyrus M. Burleigh. His long personal experience in the anti-slavery enterprise, his intimate acquaintance with its history from the commencement, and his knowledge of the peculiar wants of Pennsylvania, inspire the committee with confidence that he will fill the editorial chair with satisfaction to the readers of *The Freeman*.

They also unanimously

Resolved, That the resignation of Oliver Johnson, of his office as editor of *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, and of his place as a member of this committee, be and hereby is accepted.

Resolved, That in parting with our friend and fellow-laborer, we heartily reciprocate the assurance of personal regard and regret at parting, contained in his letter; that we have a high appreciation of the ability with which he has performed his part, and of the services which he has rendered to the cause while he has been with us; and that we are reconciled to part with him only by the conviction that he is peculiarly qualified for the more important position to which he has been invited, and the belief that in his new position he will be able to exercise a wider and more beneficent influence upon the cause.

SCENE IN THE U. S. SENATE.

Mr. Butler, (Dem.) of S. C., said if this was a mere gladiatorial contest, he might feel indifferent to the debate; but topics had been discussed, and sentiments avowed, from which he totally dissented. He did not propose now to go into the discussion, but thought it unfortunate that the resolution of the Senator from Delaware was introduced. It had given rise to an unpropitious discussion on our foreign affairs, which should not be indulged in open Senate. He dissented from the Senator from Illinois, that it was the duty of the President or Secretary of State to have sent to the Senate the Hise treaty, with a view of being amended to serve the ends contemplated by it.

Mr. Douglas explained. He had said the Hise treaty, having come to the Department of State without the authority to negotiate it, the Department was at liberty to withhold it or send it to the Senate for amendment, and that if the Secretary of State at that time, (Mr. Clayton,) had been in favor of the exclusive privilege for making a canal, he might have sent it here.

Mr. Butler resumed—There were in that treaty provisions repugnant to the Constitution, and therefore, the President was restrained by his oath from sending it to the Senate for the ratification of his advisers. The President ought to perfect a treaty before he sends it here. It should be an entirety. To ask the Senate to mould a treaty would change the whole policy of this government. Nations must meet with the penalties of transgressions as well as individuals, and if treaties are to be disregarded by a spirit of aggressive progress, and the doctrine 'might makes right' established, we will grow fast, but not live long. Are we to fulfil destiny without law and restraint? We must rely on treaties which ought not to be disregarded, except for causes which justify war. When we despise England, we despise the tree on the fruit of which we have fed—we must despise Hampden, Sidney, Chatham, Shakspeare and Burke. There was no country on God Almighty's earth he loved so much as his own; but he loved England, because she was his mother, and was proud of the tributary streams which she had poured out on America. The very common law itself made us. We have English laws and literature; and was he to be told we must despise England! He did not wish to court any occasion to become hostile to her. This debate was calculated to sow the seeds of bitterness.

Mr. Douglas wished to say to the Senator, that the Mexican treaty was not an entirety when the President sent it to the Senate. He regarded it as containing obnoxious provisions; yet it was modified, and ratified, and became the law of the land.

Mr. Butler—I think it was sent here as an entirety, the President saying that Mr. Trist had no authority to negotiate it.

Mr. Douglas further explained his views, and repeated, we should never make a treaty unless we can faithfully execute it. He did not argue in favor of violating any treaty. The Senator says we ought to love England, because she is our mother. Now, it is hard to tell who our mother was. We have a great many mothers—we have here English, Irish, Scotch, French, Norman, Spanish—every kind of descent; all we have found valuable in England we have adopted, and that which was injurious we have rejected. I did not speak in terms of unkindness of England, but, in speaking of monuments, the point I made was this: that we should not shut our eyes to the fact, that the policy England is pursuing has its origin in hostility towards us, and is not to enhance our interests. While the Senator spoke of England pouring in her streams of refreshing intelligence, I thought that the stream of abolition, treason and insurrection, which she had poured into South Carolina and other slaveholding States of this Union, would at least excuse him from endorsing those streams of literature under the name of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and other works, [tremendous applause in the gallery, and cries of 'Good, good!']—works libelling us and our institutions, and holding us up to the hate and prejudice of the world. While engaged in this, he was the last to compliment her for her refreshing streams of literature. [Renewed applause.]

The Chair suppressed the disorder, and ordered the galleries to be cleared.

Mr. Adams—I hope they will be cleared.

Mr. Douglas—I hope they will.

Mr. Butler—When I spoke of gratitude, I spoke of those things in which we have a common interest. I do not thank the Senator for going out of his way, and imdicating impure streams. I spoke of the streams which authors and orators have poured out upon us, which I hope have been refreshing to him, and the intelligence of the age. I did not expect a miserable allusion to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' It was *ad captandum*, and not manly made.

Mr. Douglas—I spoke in terms of reverence and respect of the monuments of statesmen in England, of patriotism, legal learning, science and literature—of all that was great, noble and admirable. I did not expect statesmen to go back two or three centuries to justify the aggressions of the present age. And when I heard the plaudits relative to the past, I thought I had a right to allude to the present enormities of England.

Mr. Butler—I should like to know how England is responsible for 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' If the Senator takes the sickly sentimentality of the day as an exponent of the English heart and literature, very well. I alluded to our commercial relations with England, and our connection as a civilized nation; and would the Senator postpone her?

Mr. Douglas—I would not postpone her, or give her a greater preference than other nations, but treat her as duty requires.

Mr. Butler—We can find sickly sentimentality every where, such as the Maine Liquor Law, and all that. [Laughter.]

Mr. Clayton replied to Mr. Douglas, and repeated the arguments heretofore advanced by him in justification of his course in negotiating the Bulwer and Clayton treaty. He contended he had proved from the testimony of the most distinguished statesmen who had ever lived, that the exclusive privilege of making the ship canal was not to be desired, and that the true principle is to negotiate for all nations to pass that great highway on the same terms. The Senator boasts that we are a great, a giant republic, and the Senator himself is said to be a little giant—(laughter)—and every thing which he talks about is gigantic. (Renewed laughter.) He (Mr. Clayton) concurred in the remarks of Secretary Everett relative to Cuba, and in the course of President Fillmore respecting that island. He knew how easy it was to excite prejudice against England, and as a reply to the Senator's observations on that head, caused to be read a portion of Washington's Farewell Address, with a view of refreshing the Senate.

Wendell Phillips and Dr. Beecher.—Our readers, of course, will not pass over the correspondence on our first page, between Mrs. Stowe and Mr. Phillips. Mrs. Stowe's epistle contrasts quite favorably with Mr. Mann's, which we published last week. But Mrs. Stowe's earnest defence of her father cannot, and should not protect his course from rebuke and condemnation. The positions of Mr. Phillips are abundantly sustained by the facts. Dr. Beecher's moral firmness was inadequate to the emergency which met him at the Lane Seminary. He faltered and fell, and his enterprise fell with him. His impulses were doubtless for freedom. With his benevolence, it could not have been otherwise. But whatever he might have done in the church, and as it were clandestinely, he never identified himself with the slave, or with his unpopular and persecuted friends; and from the hour that he declined the honorable post of leader of the hosts of freedom, (for such he might have been,) his influence comparatively perished, and his name and fame were reckoned only from the *past*. Dr. Beecher refusing to side with freedom, his history, and the retribution which overtook him, is the right of the slave and the right of the world. It should be held up as a beacon to all who are tempted to prefer success to principle, and expediency to justice. And if men are to be honored for such things, in our esteem, Mr. Phillips has won far higher honors by his fidelity and firmness with Horace Mann and Dr. Beecher, than he ever has, or can win by the choicest power of his surpassing eloquence.—*Anti-Slavery Bugle.*

☞ Wendell Phillips, Esq., delivered a lecture on 'The Philosophy of Reform,' at the Athenæum Hall, Cambridge, on Thursday evening, before the Franklin Library Association. The lecture was in the orator's usual brilliant style, and was listened to by a large and appreciating audience.—*Chronicle.*

THE LIBERATOR.
No Union with Slaveholders.
BOSTON, APRIL 1, 1853.

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

☞ It is earnestly desired by the signers of the Circular which accompanies the Woman's Rights Petition, that persons who may receive it will give it a wide circulation. Let no names be wanting which *faithful labor* can secure.

The Constitutional Convention affords an opportunity of securing political equality for woman that may not return for years. If we fail to get it, let it not be because it was not abundantly prayed for.

The Petition should be returned to WENDELL PHILLIPS, 21 Cornhill, Boston, a few days before the Constitutional Convention meets.

The following is the form of the Petition to which signatures are requested to be affixed, without regard to sex:—

To the Convention assembled to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask that you will report an amendment to the Constitution, striking out the word 'MALE' wherever it occurs in that instrument.

Last Sunday, Rev. Theodore Parker gave the last of a series of discourses on the Condition and Rights of Woman, in which he took the broadest ground as to her political franchisement and educational elevation. It was an admirable effort, and was listened to with profound interest and manifest pleasure by an immense audience,—the spacious Music Hall being entirely filled. Fortunately, an excellent phonographic report of it was secured; and it will be speedily published in a neat pamphlet, for cheap and general circulation. Nothing could be more timely, with reference to the approaching Convention for amending the State Constitution. Orders are solicited, and may be sent to 21 Cornhill. A large edition will be printed.

REPLY OF MR. MANN.

We are requested by Mr. Mann to state, that, in consequence of his absence from home the past week, he will not be able to reply to the last letter of Mr. Phillips until our next number.

Messrs. Mann and Phillips.—The last number of The Liberator contains another long letter from Wendell Phillips in reply to Mr Mann. It does not *answer* that gentleman's rejoinder, for this it would be hardly possible for our Garrisonian friends to do effectually. But it reiterates their old positions. Mr. Phillips replies as follows to what Mr. Mann said touching the oath to support the Constitution.

* * * * * *

It is surprising what tall structures some men can rear on quibbles! But we copy this to enable our readers to see it, not to reply to it. Mr. Mann does not require our assistance.

Nevertheless, we have a word for The Liberator. Once upon a time, that paper rejoiced with exceeding joy over the election of George Thompson to the English Parliament, from the Tower Hamlets. It called that success a 'great triumph of the right,' or something to this effect. It was repeatedly asked to explain how this was consistent with it doctrines relative to voting and the constitutional oath, in this country. The question was put with the utmost sincerity, and urged in the most courteous terms that could be employed. The Liberator did not answer it. It preserved the most careful silence. It actually *dodged* that question. (!!)

The oath of a member of Parliament cannot be otherwise than obnoxious to what The Liberator and Mr. Phillips lay down as a principle; yet The Liberator rejoiced at Mr. Thompson's election, and afterwards refused to explain why it rejoiced. Slavery does not exist in England; but we presume The Liberator was not ready to say that slavery, bad as it is, is the only form of oppression, the only crime of which a government can be guilty. Therefore, it kept silence. But it cannot suppose that this convenient silence won anybody to admire its theory touching the constitutional oath.—*Commonwealth of Tuesday.*

☞ We are glad to see that our hint to the *Commonwealth*, to be impartial with its extracts as between Mr. Mann and Mr. Phillips, has been efficacious. Nothing is ever lost by fairness and magnanimity.

As for our having 'dodged' any question ever propounded to us, from any quarter, the charge is simply untrue and ridiculous; though we know of no obligation resting upon us to answer every question that may be asked, especially when the question carries upon its face an absurdity, and is urged with egotistical pertinacity. Let the *Commonwealth* quote what we have ever said, exultingly, about the election of Mr. Thompson to the British Parliament, and let its readers judge whether we have ever printed a syllable inconsistent with the principles we profess. If the editors of that paper are so blind, that they cannot perceive that there is no parallel between the oath of a member of Parliament and that of one who swears to support the U. S. Constitution, we can only pity their condition. When Mr. Thompson shall be found swearing to uphold that which, as a private citizen, he regards as a heinous sin, and we are found congratulating him upon such a position, it will be time enough to inquire after his and our own consistency.

The Rev. T. W. Higginson gives the following gentle admonition in the *Commonwealth*:—

A SUGGESTION.

Messrs. Editors—I observe in the *Commonwealth*, of this morning, the following extract from the *Lowell American*:—

'Among the wagons in the rear!' Keen, but perfectly just. The post of danger and the place of temptation has been occupied by Adams, Giddings, Mann, Palfrey, Allen, Hale, and others. Nobly have they done their duty. When the silk-glove radicals of the Bazaar come out from among the wagons, they may possibly criticise the swordsmen and artillerists.'

I have no wish to engage in the controversy between Mr. Phillips and Mr. Mann. I only wish to suggest, that if our friend Robinson had been a member of the Vigilance Committee during the fugitive slave cases in Boston, he might have learned to take a more comprehensive view of the dangers to be incurred, under some circumstances, by abolitionists—and of the comparative readiness of different classes of men to meet them.

Worcester, March 23. T. W. H.

Lecture on the French Revolution. At the request of several friends, Parker Pillsbury has consented to deliver his elaborate and highly interesting Lecture on the French Revolution of 1793, in the Washingtonian Hall, Bromfield Street, on Monday evening next, at half past seven o'clock. On no one subject is there more general ignorance and misconception, than on the French Revolution—corrupt priests and tory politicians having assiduously labored, for more than half a century, to cover it, and its prominent actors, with the blackest infamy, as the concentration of all that was blasphemous and demoniacal. Mr. Pillsbury has made a most searching investigation on this subject, and will present it in its true colors. This lecture has been delivered in many places, and has uniformly elicited high commendations. We hope to see a crowded audience. Price of admission, 15 cents. Tickets for sale at the door, and at the Anti-Slavery Office.

'The Una.' We have received the second number of this interesting and well-conducted journal, which is edited by Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, and published monthly at Providence, R. I., at one dollar per annum in advance. It is devoted to the elevation of Woman, and we hope will meet with a liberal patronage.

Departure of Mrs. Stowe. Among the passengers in the steamer Canada which left this port on Wednesday for Liverpool, was Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. On her arrival in England, she is destined to meet with a reception unparalleled in the annals of philanthropy. Her mission is of immense importance, and cannot fail to give an electric impulse to the cause of emancipation throughout the globe. She is accompanied by her husband, Prof. Stowe, and by her youngest brother, Rev. Charles Beecher.

MORAL CONSISTENCY.

Mr. Garrison:

If my inquiry last week was but a 'flash in the pan,' it strikes me you should have thrown it under the table. The reply would indicate that it was something more. But let that pass. The point is, can Mr. Mann consistently denounce the hunting of slaves, &c., and yet swear to support the Constitution and the laws of the land? You have stated an extreme case, not even a supposable case; and yet my answer would be, if a Juggernaut Congress, sixty years ago, had made such requirements as you speak of, I would do my best to send into the national councils the most powerful men to convince of the great sin, and get the prohibition removed. You go for revolution, as did our fathers; but if we were united, as were our fathers, revolution would not be necessary.

Again: you ask, 'Can an anti-slavery man swear to support a pro-slavery instrument?' He must swear to support the Constitution and the laws of the land, or his voice can never be heard where most effectual.

Now, I will suppose a case. The laws in some one of our States license unlimited drinking and gambling. More than half of the new members of the Legislature desire to do away these great evils, but they must swear to support the Constitution and the laws of the State, with all their 'sinful compromises,' until they can successfully grapple with the evil. Shall they, with one accord, stay at home, under the plea that they would be swearing to support iniquitous laws?—'doing evil that good may come'? In my view, the 'glory of God and the welfare of the State' would be promoted by their vigorous action.

Are you, Mr. G., always 'consistent'? I have very often attended the meetings of the New England Anti-Slavery Society—have been deeply interested, sometimes delighted and instructed, and often pained. In your earlier career, all you wanted, to accomplish the destruction of slavery, was the influence and favorable action of the free States. That was subsequently so far obtained, that Mr. Phillips declared, in Faneuil Hall, no dog dared to 'wag his tongue' in its favor. This was succeeded by placing the whole body of Christian teachers upon the pro-slavery platform. Then came the doctrine of disunion, and now Mr. Phillips claims the right, and would make it the duty of all to instigate openly the escape of the slave, making saints of the crusaders!

I will only add, that I deem it most unfortunate for this best of causes, which is fast enlisting the sympathies of our race, that there should be such discrepancy of action amongst the friends of the slave. The South will not discriminate, and hence new enactments to rivet the chains. I have great faith in the good effects of the promised forthcoming exposition of the 'American Slave Code,' and Mrs. Stowe's 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.' But I have no faith in good results from the studied abuse, by licensed orators, of men, however distinguished as the friends of the slave, apparently for no better reason than that, by deviating from one beaten path, or wearing harness manufactured in another shop, they were evidently violating a *patent right*.

ENQUIRER.

Remark. 'Enquirer' merely indulges in repetition. His moral philosophy we regard as radically unsound, and therefore cannot adopt it. He believes that the end sanctifies the means—in the necessity (at least occasionally) of doing evil that good may come: we do not. In reply to our inquiry, 'Can an anti-slavery man swear to support a pro-slavery instrument?' or a Christian swear to sanction the worship of Juggernaut? he says, 'He must swear to support the Constitution and the laws of the land, or his voice can never be heard where most effectual.' This is either to dodge or to beg the question, and so is no answer; or else it means that a man may swear that he will repudiate his principles, in order that he may the more surely advance them; and this is an absurdity. Whether we are 'always consistent' or not, is not to the point. With 'Enquirer,' we 'have no faith in good results from the studied abuse' of anybody; but when a man 'deviates from the beaten path' of moral rectitude, and swears to uphold what he declares to be atrociously wicked *per se*, we think it right and proper to expose his inconsistency.

'THE BIBLE AS A BOOK.'

Friend Garrison:

I think you have not been quite just in your notice of the little book written by my son, as a medium on the Bible. Of course, you will be glad to correct the mistakes you have made.

Speaking of the books of the Old Testament, you say, putting the sentence into quotation marks—'They were *all* written through mediums, and are somewhat correct in the main.' This is a mistake, as you will see by looking at it carefully. On the first page occurs this statement—'Some of the Old Testament was written by men who had no more power than I had to preach the gospel before I had my conversion.' On the thirteenth page you will find the following passage:—'Joshua is a book written by a General who kept an account of the battles he fought. Almost the whole book is false.' This is enough to show your mistake in the sentence above quoted from your notice.

Again: you do not understand rightly the correction given of the second verse of the thirteenth chapter of Romans. The *corrected* passage is as follows:—'Whosoever resisteth the power, therefore, does not resist the ordinance of God; but those that do resist unto death must receive their damnation.' On this you say, 'A most illogical conclusion from the premises, and the punishment of damnation, where no law or ordinance of God has been resisted, is horribly disproportioned to the offence.' 'Damnation' means simply *condemnation*; and if any one resisteth the law of the land unto death, he is condemned and punished by the government which he has opposed. This is sure, and only this is affirmed in the passage. Nothing is said of God's government in this statement.

In regard to your opinion of the book, I have no fault to find. You have a perfect right to that, and to a full expression of it. So has each one who may read the book. I am satisfied, on evidence which I cannot gainsay, that the whole was communicated to my son by an invisible power. It claims to come from Paul. If that claim be true, it will stand; if not, it will fall. I wait the result.

Yours for truth and love, IRA HOAR.

Wachusett Village, March 25, 1853.

☞ We meant to cast no reflection whatever upon the 'medium,' nor to do any injustice in our quotations. Not having the book at hand to refer to now, we are not able to re-examine it; but we presume our friend Hoar is right in his correction. As to the passage in the 13th chapter of Romans, whatever the term 'damnation' was meant to imply, it does seem to us most illogical to admit the validity of the declaration, 'The powers that be are ordained of God,' and then to affirm, 'Whosoever resisteth the power, therefore, does NOT resist the ordinance of God,' &c.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Shady Side; or, Life in a Country Parsonage. By a Pastor's Wife. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. pp. 349.

The System of Nature: or, Laws of the Moral and Physical World. By Baron D'Holbach, Author of 'Good Sense,' &c. A New and Improved Edition, with Notes by Diderot. Translated, for the first time, by H. D. Robinson. Two volumes in one. Vol. I. Stereotype Edition. Boston: Published by J. P. Mendum, 65 Cornhill. 1853. pp. 368.

A Philosophical Dictionary; from the French of M. de Voltaire. With additional Notes, both Critical and Argumentative. American Stereotype Edition. In Two Volumes. Boston: Published by J. P. Mendum, 65 Cornhill.

All we can do, this week, is simply to acknowledge the receipt of these works from the publishers, and to notify our readers of their publication.

METHODISM AND SLAVERY.

Mr. Editor:

In The Liberator of the 4th inst. appeared an article under the above caption, which conveys an entirely erroneous impression. Charity, however, compels me to the belief that there was no design on the part of your correspondent, G. B. Stebbins, but rather, that from his haste to note down what I did say, he did not get some of it quite correct. He has drawn conclusions, also, in my opinion, without any warrant for so doing.

He makes me say, that 'the law proclaimed from Sinai allowed the slaveholders to hold slaves.' What I said was this:—The civil laws of the Jews, given immediately *after* the moral code of Sinai, permitted slaves to be held. Any one who doubts this, can refer to Exodus 21. The moral code is given in Exodus 20.

'*Doulas*,' he remarks, 'in Scripture, always meant slave, except twice, when used as a trope.' If he had made me say, the term *doulos*, in its primitive sense, always means slave, when, in the New Testament, it is used in any other sense, it is a *tropical* use of the term, he would have made me say the truth, and just what I did say. For the truth of this, see Romans 1:1, where Paul calls himself the *doulos* of Jesus Christ—this is a tropical and not a literal use of the term.

'Mr. Goss,' he asserts, 'was the leading defender of slavery, and at the close of his Biblical argument, those religious teachers could hardly find a text against oppression in either Testament.' The question of 'oppression' was not under consideration at all, as the sequel will show. If it had been, I apprehend that not only verses, but chapters, could easily be found 'against oppression'; but as it was, verse after verse was quoted, by several of those who opposed me.

But, 'Mr. Goss was the *leading defender* of slavery.' So far from 'leading' in the defence of slavery, I defy G. B. Stebbins or any one else to lead me to do such *dirty* work. Defend slavery? Never! So far from defending it, I would, before the setting of the sun, break every bond, and 'let the oppressed go free.' God knows my heart; I hate such a system too much to 'defend' it. The very first public speech that I ever made was against the sum of all evils; and I have not since refrained from so doing, neither shall I, although G. B. Stebbins may brand me as a 'defender of slavery.'

I am always ready to lift up my voice, as best I may, at any time and place, against this crying evil. The question discussed at Walworth was the following:—'Shall a rule be enacted to exclude *all* slaveholders from the M. E. Church?' On this resolution, I remarked, that as we had allowed them, according to Discipline, to enter the church, and had fellowshiped them in the church up to the present time, it would now be unjust to cut them off at a stroke, without any discrimination; that such a rule would be *ex post facto*, therefore unjust. These reasons led me to oppose the resolution. Not that, in so doing, I took the ground that slaveholders ought to be admitted into the church; but, as we have done so up to the present time, is it not a debateable question, Mr. Editor, whether they ought to be cut off immediately, without any discrimination? I am in favor of a rule prohibiting any more from coming into the church, and offered a resolution to that effect at Walworth, as your correspondent must be aware.

I must protest against the inference of G. B. S. in reference to the standard of anti-slavery feeling in the East Genesee Conference, drawn from the proceedings at Walworth. That was only a meeting of a small district in the E. G. Conference, composed of only eighteen preachers out of one hundred and twenty. Only some half of that number were present on that occasion, making nine, all told. Not one of that number present spoke against the resolution—'Mr. Goss' being only a probationer in the Conference. In the next place, I can assure you that *nine-tenths* of the preachers in the East Genesee Conference are *bona fide anti-slavery* in their sentiments, and will do as much to break the galling chains as G. B. S. or any other man. How unjust, then, the imputation of your correspondent!

I hope, dear sir, that your love of justice and truth will prompt you to give this the same publicity as the article alluded to.

C. C. GOSS.

Clifton Springs, March 15, 1853.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Cincinnati, Feb. 15th, 1853.

Brother Cone:

The following I read last evening in The Liberator, published in Boston, Friday, Feb. 4th, 1853:—

'Rev. A. T. Foss said that, some years since, when the American Bible Society voted to place the Bible, within five years, in every family in the land, the American and Foreign Bible Society (which is the Baptist Society,) not to be behind in so good a work, voted to do its part to the same end. Rev. Abel Brown, in that meeting, inquired whether the slaves at the South were contemplated in this arrangement. The moment the inquiry was made, shouts of "Order! Order! Order!" came from every part of the house. Rev. Dr. Cone, the presiding officer, rose, greatly excited, and in a loud voice said, "Sit down, Mr. Brown; you are out of order!" And it was so. The meeting before was greatly moved—much sobbing and crying; but every tear was dried when Mr. Brown asked his impertinent and troublesome question, (?) and great indignation was expressed in every direction.'

Is the representation, as quoted above, correct? You may think me, being a stranger to you, impertinent. I have no other desire in addressing you than the glory of God and the good of mankind. You will not remember me, I presume; but I sat under your preaching with a great deal of pleasure, and I think profit, somewhere about seventeen or eighteen years ago, in the Oliver Street Church. I should like to be prepared to refute the taunts of the infidel, when I am reproached with the above representation.

Yours with true regard, E. HARWOOD.

Cincinnati, March 7th, 1853.

Dear Friend Garrison:

The following is a true copy of a letter received by me in answer to one dated 15th of February last (which you will find enclosed,) directed to Dr. Spencer H. Cone, of New York city. Will you be kind enough to give it a place in your paper, with my letter?

Yours with sincere regard,

E. HARWOOD.

American Bible Union, New York, Feb. 26, 1853.

E. Harwood, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Dear Brother,—Dr. Cone has handed me a letter from you, under date of the 15th, and requested me to reply. His memory of facts is generally very distinct, and my own accords with his in the following statement. When the American Bible Society voted to place a Bible in every family in the land in a certain period, (Dr. Cone thinks that the period was *two*, and not 'five' years, as in your letter,) the American and Foreign Bible Society *was not in existence*. The latter Society never, to his knowledge, had the subject before them. *The whole glory is entirely new to us.*

Yours with Christian regard,

WM. H. WYCKOFF, *Cor. Sec.*

☞ We have no doubt Mr. Foss will set this matter right.—*Ed. Lib.*

A CHEERING WORD FROM MICHIGAN.

Dowagiac, Cass Co., Mich., March 18, 1853.

Dear Garrison:

Looking up my receipts, I find my subscription to The Liberator has expired. We can't do without it, although its price would take three papers of the size.

If any of your lecturers have occasion to pass this way, they may find a shelter in my cabin as long as they will work with us. Cannot the Anti-Slavery Society afford to sow their seed in this part of Michigan? I have lived here two years, and have as yet heard no earnest pleading for the slave.

Enclosed are $3.00, for The Liberator.

Yours truly, O. P. DRURY.

OCEAN PENNY POSTAGE

Mr. Editor:

Perhaps many of your readers may have misapprehended the meaning of an '*Ocean Penny Postage*,' and thought that it was proposed to send a letter from any town in the United States to any town in Great Britain, for one penny, or two cents. But this idea is entirely incorrect. It is the mere service of transporting a single letter across the ocean, that is asked for a penny. This is to be added to the British inland rate, and to the inland charge of the United States. Thus, the entire charge on a letter from St. Louis to Edinburgh, would be 3½d., or 7 cents—3 for the American inland, 2 for the ocean, and 2 for the British inland service. It is to be hoped, however, that the American inland postage may be reduced to one penny, or two *cents*, so that each of these three services shall be performed for a penny. Under the existing regime, the whole charge for these three services is a shilling, or 24 cents. Under the reduction proposed, they would be performed for 7 cents, if the inland postage of the United States should remain as it is at present; but for 6 cents, if this inland charge should be reduced to 2 cents. Then we want 3½ times the present number of letters—enough between the United States and Great Britain to produce the present amount of revenue. Would the reduction proposed insure this increase? This is the practical question. Let us see. Let us take very moderate estimates, for it would be better that they should fall short of the reality, than to pass beyond it. Is it not, then, very moderate to assume that the present number of persons in Europe and North America would, on an average, write *twice* under an Ocean Penny Postage, where they now write *once* under the present shilling rate? Admit this statement, and we have more than half the requisite augmentation. Where shall we look for the other half? Why, to an extraordinary source of increase, almost confined to the United States. There are now about 400,000 persons who emigrate from Europe to North America every year. These are all *new* correspondents, and their number will amount to a million in three years, annually increasing by several hundred thousands. Is it not equally moderate to assume, that this million of emigrants would write, on an average, *two* letters per head, annually, to their friends in Europe, and receive two in return? Then from this source we should have 4,000,000 letters a year, increasing, probably, at the rate of a million annually, after three years of the new system. Then this postal reform would almost completely break up the private or clandestine conveyance of letters by the passengers and crews of the steam-packets and sailing-packets that cross the ocean, and bring into the mail bags the matter thus conveyed in the pockets of individuals. It would greatly diminish the number of dead letters, which now amount to about 10,000 per month, between Great Britain and North America. It would, to a great extent, break up the almost universal custom of enclosing several communications, addressed to different individuals, and enclosed under one envelope to save postage.

Frequently, four or five of such communications, written on very thin paper, manufactured for this express purpose, are thus forwarded for one shilling. Now let us put those sources of increase together. The whole number of letters conveyed across the Atlantic by the Cunard, Collins, Havre and Bremen lines of steam-packets, during the year ending June 30, 1851, was, in round numbers, 3,900,000. Now we want three and a half times this number, or 13,650,000, in order to make an Ocean Penny Postage produce the present amount of revenue. The present number of persons in Europe and America, who wrote 3,900,000 letters in 1851, would write 7,800,000 during the first year of the new system. The million of emigrants to America, in the course of three years, would write and receive 4,000,000 annually. From these two sources, we have 11,800,000 per annum, at the end of the third year of the postal reform. We need 1,850,000 to make up the revenue to its present amount. Now can there be any reasonable doubt, that the other three sources we have described would produce an increase of revenue equal to that of these 1,850,000 letters which we need at the end of the third year, to make an Ocean Penny Postage pay? Can there be any serious loss of revenue incurred or apprehended from the adoption of this great postal reform? Then why may it not be realized during the present session of the U. S. Congress and British Parliament?

Yours sincerely, ELIHU BURRITT.

35 Broad st. Buildings, London, Nov. 18, 1852.

LEWIS HAYDEN'S CLOTHING STORE.

Dear Mr. Garrison:

On making a recent visit to the store of Lewis Hayden, (No. 121 Cambridge street,) I was much pleased to see that he had been enlarging his premises, having made them nearly double the size they were before, and having, in addition, fitted them up in a very neat and attractive manner. Mr. Hayden, as a colored man, and once a slave, has had, as all must see, unusual difficulties and discouragements to encounter, in establishing a place of business. He seems to have been steadily overcoming these, and to have done much to earn for himself the reputation of a good business man, as well as a most worthy citizen. It is to be hoped that encouragement will be given to him, for it is well merited. At his store, a large and good assortment of every kind of clothing may be found. Let those who are skeptical of what a slave can do, when he has no longer a master to oversee him, call at friend Hayden's store.

Truly yours, S. M. Jr.

Ellen Craft. An English friend, in a letter by the last steamship, says, 'I had an excellently-written letter from Ellen Craft yesterday, in which she speaks of her baby,—a fine child, not having had an hour's ailment. Ellen, with simplicity and tenderness, bemoans that her 'poor mother cannot hear of the treasure which God has given her;' and says, 'it makes my very heart ache, when I think of a system existing in a professed Christian country, which will not allow a daughter to gladden the heart of her mother by informing her of the birth of her first free-born babe.' Shame on our land!

The same English friend asks—'Who is "Rev. Edmund Kelly, of New Bedford, Mass., America"? His "case," and picture of himself, wife, miss, and three master Kellys, are before me. He is making a good harvest by begging for money to purchase his own freedom, being anxious, for the sake of the souls of his parishioners, to return to the United States! I suspect he is a humbug.'

Can our New Bedford friends throw any light on this matter?

'The Self-Elevator.' Such is the title of a semi-monthly paper, just commenced in Boston,—Benjamin F. Roberts, Proprietor. Terms, one dollar in advance. Office, No. 19 Washington street. Its object is 'to agitate the cause of general improvement among the colored people,' especially in regard to mechanical employments and scientific pursuits. Mr. Roberts is identified with this class by complexion, and knows experimentally what it is to be under the ban of an oppressive public sentiment. The first number contains an earnest and well-reasoned address of William J. Watkins, delivered before the Legislative Committee on the Militia, Feb. 24, 1853, in behalf of sixty-five colored petitioners, praying for a charter to form an independent military company in Boston. It has also been printed in pamphlet form.

☞ Our *Norfolk County* friends will see that the annual meeting of the County Anti-Slavery Society is to be held at Port Norfolk on the approaching Fast day. A good meeting may be anticipated, where something shall be done to 'break every yoke,' and thus 'keep the Fast which God hath chosen.'—M.

☞ For a number of interesting communications, see our last page. This week we have tried to relieve our file, but it is still crowded.

WORCESTER CO. NORTH A. S. SOCIETY.

The seventeenth annual meeting of this Society was held in Gardner, on Wednesday and Thursday, March 23d and 24th.

The meeting was called to order by the Secretary, and Asa Merriam chosen President *pro tem.*

Voted, to postpone the appointment of committees and choice of officers until Thursday.

Daniel Foster then spoke an hour and a half. His theme was, the duty which we, as Christians, owe to the slave. He spoke with great power and good effect, to an uncommonly large audience for an anti-slavery meeting in this vicinity.

Rev. Sumner Lincoln briefly advocated and urged free discussion.

Adjourned till Thursday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

Thursday Morning.—Met agreeably to adjournment, the President of the Society (J. T. Everett) in the chair.

Efficient Committees were appointed on Business, Nominations, and Finance.

Daniel Foster, from the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions :—

Resolved, That Franklin Pierce has taken a position in his Inaugural Address, so inhuman and unchristian, as it respects the poor and proscribed of this land, that each true Democrat and every true Christian in our country are under solemn obligation to cut loose from his administration, and unsparingly to hold up to the reprobation of the world, the atheistic policy which he has pledged himself to pursue.

Resolved, That the National Government has taken a position as truly opposed to the Divine Government as was that old council before which the apostles were arraigned, and commanded to preach no more in the name of the crucified Jesus. And as they disobeyed that command, that they might obey God, so we are to remember the slave and help him to his freedom, wherever he may be reduced to bondage. Nor can the Constitution of the United States at all affect this obligation, since God imposes it in the relationship which binds us to humanity.

Resolved, That the practical Christians of a place necessarily constitute the true church of that place, and they agree, not in doctrines, but in loving and seeking to accomplish the great Christian work, namely, the deliverance of the oppressed, the establishment of the kingdom of Love throughout the world, and the accomplishment of the divine will here, as in heaven. And whoever is not promoting reform with all his soul and strength—whoever puts party, sect or creed above the anti-slavery cause—whoever consents to compromise with the principle of human enslavement, for some paltry selfish advancement, thus demonstrates that he is yet in moral darkness ; and that, judging them by their fruits at the polls, last November, we are led to the conclusion, that the great majority of the professed Christians of our country are in this deplorable condition, and with all earnestness would we cry out to them, 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand.'

Resolved, That we look with indignation upon the spirit which is now persecuting the poor colored people of this land ; and we consider the recent legislation of Illinois gives to that State the bad eminence of being, among the professedly free States, the most hostile to freedom.

Resolved, That Mr. Smith, Mr. Randolph, Mrs. Eastman and Mrs. Tyler show how vain the attempt to defend slavery, while the interest with which 'Uncle Tom' and the 'White Slave' are read and circulated, shows how the heart of man thrills to the appeal of a fellow-man who seeks the priceless boon of freedom.

Resolved, That the 'Free Democracy' ought to help to organize, and sustain agitation, as the only instrumentality for the overthrow of slavery.

Resolved, That abolitionists ought to remember the necessity for a self-sacrificing spirit in the promotion of this holy cause.

The resolutions were supported at this session of the Convention by T. W. Higginson and Daniel Foster.

Adjourned till half-past 1 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.—The President in the chair.

The Committee on Nominations reported the following list of officers for the year ensuing. The report was accepted, and they were duly chosen.

For President—Rev. SUMNER LINCOLN, Gardner.

Vice-Presidents—J. T. Everett, Princeton ; George Flint, Rutland ; Joel Smith, Leominster ; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg ; Noah Humphrey, Barre ; Asa Merriam, Gardner.

Directors—George Miles, Westminster ; Dr. C. C. Field, Leominster ; Alvan Ward, Ashburnham ; John Swift, Gardner ; Mrs. C. S. Brown, Hubbardston ; Dea. Asa Waite, do.

Secretary and Treasurer—A. Allen Bent, Gardner.

Auditor—Benjamin H. Rugg, Gardner.

Mr. Lincoln, on taking the chair, made some very pertinent remarks.

Mr. Higginson followed, in a speech so beautiful in style, and so profuse in thought, that our pen would utterly fail to do it justice, should we attempt to give an outline sketch.

Daniel Foster followed, in his usual interesting and earnest manner, in a speech on the character of slavery.

The following resolution was presented and supported by Mrs. C. S. Brown, of Hubbardston :—

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery question is the test question of the age, in its application to the ecclesiastical and political organizations of our land ; as also a test principle to the character of individuals.

J. T. Everett introduced and sustained the following :—

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society, by its principal founders, was designed to perpetuate, and not to overthrow, the system of American slavery ; and therefore he who contributes to its funds aids the American slave system, and helps to perpetuate,—though perhaps unwittingly,—all the tears and groans and untold sufferings of the three millions and a half of American slaves.

Adjourned till 7 o'clock.

Closing Session.—Called to order by Asa Merriam, one of the Vice-Presidents. This session was addressed by Mrs. Brown, and Messrs. Everett, Lincoln, and Foster.

Gladly would we do our best to give an outline sketch of some of the noble speeches made at this Convention ; but the present crowded state of the columns of The Liberator forbids. It is due, however, to say, that Mr. Foster and Mr. Higginson gave great satisfaction to the Society, on this occasion. Good seed has been sown here, and we doubt not that it will spring up and grow, and bring forth fruit, notwithstanding the tares of priestcraft and weeds of political prejudice which may be sown thickly in the same field.

The resolutions before the Convention were adopted, and the meeting adjourned to meet at such time and place as the President and Secretary may appoint.

SUMNER LINCOLN, *President.*
A. A. Bent, *Secretary.*

MISS HOLLEY IN WEST BROOKFIELD, WARREN, &c.

[From a letter dated West Brookfield, March 4, 1853.]

'You expressed a desire to know what impression Miss Holley has made in this region. As far as West Brookfield is concerned, I can give you no very favorable account, because every thing was done that could be done, in the first place, to prevent the people's knowing there was to *be* a lecture, and in the second place, to keep them from going to *hear* it. A majority of the trustees of the church vestry refused to grant the use of it for the meeting. One of them—a Deacon of the church, and a very prominent and influential man in that body—said that he did not wish to give countenance to *immorality*, and that the *anti-slavery* movement had a very *immoral* tendency. The Orthodox clergyman not only refused to read a notice of the meeting, but treated it with open contempt, and declared his determination to do nothing nor give his countenance to any thing which should hinder the building up of the sectarian organization in this place, of which he is pastor. A notice which was posted on the outside of the church was torn down and destroyed by the sexton, and he, it should be remembered, is a member of the church in good and regular standing—a recent convert ; and so zealous is he for the promotion of the cause of religion, that he was heard to say, at the time of taking down the notice spoken of, that he would never open that house for an anti-slavery meeting again, even if he sacrificed his year's salary by so doing.

'The Methodist Society granted the use of their hall for the meeting on a week day, by receiving one dollar for its use. This minister read a notice of the lecture ; yet, when asked to allow Miss Holley to occupy a part of the time on Sunday evening, and deliver her lecture in connection with their prayer-meeting, after he had declined to defer his meeting, he refused to give her any opportunity to speak ; and when she did hold a meeting, on a week day evening, he did not come to hear her, but appointed a class-meeting on the same evening and at the same hour, for the apparent purpose of preventing those from coming who otherwise would have been glad to have heard ; and I am informed that he has cautioned his hearers against reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, lest they become contaminated with evil. Under such circumstances, the notice was very limited, and consequently a very thin meeting.

'Miss Holley was well received in North Brookfield, Brookfield, and Warren. The attendance in all of these places was very fair, and the people seemed deeply interested. In Warren, the interest manifested was so great, that, at the close of her first lecture, the people present invited her to speak to them the following evening, with which invitation she complied, and, though a stormy evening, had a very respectable audience. Her manner is very earnest and impressive, and her appeals to the people are so touching that few can listen to her without being moved. Her lectures in this region were all very intelligent and instructive, and were delivered with such impressiveness of manner, that I think they will be productive of much good. We regret exceedingly that she could not have had a better chance to be heard in this place, and were it not for the influence of the religious teachers, the people would be glad to hear ; but they dare not disobey their leaders.'

MISS HOLLEY AT LEOMINSTER.

Leominster, March 22, 1853.

Dear Mr. Garrison : Knowing it is always gratifying to you to hear of any advance steps in the anti-slavery enterprise, I take pleasure in giving you an account of the labors of Miss Holley in this place. She came to lecture to us March 6th, but illness preventing her from doing so, another appointment was given out for March 11th. When the hour arrived, about two hundred people had assembled ; when Miss Holley, after reading a portion of Scripture and offering a fervent prayer, proceeded to speak for more than an hour, in her peculiarly impressive and enthusiastic manner. I think I hazard nothing when I say, that her lecture was universally approved and admired by all who heard it. But the severity of the storm prevented very many from hearing her, who sincerely wished to, and so earnest was the desire of many who heard her that evening to hear again, that it was thought best to make another appointment, which Miss Holley kindly consented to. Sunday evening, March 20, was the time fixed upon. At the appointed time, an audience of nearly six hundred was convened. Miss Holley commenced by reading a portion of Scripture, and invited any one to offer vocal prayer who might feel it a privilege. As no one responded, she proceeded to address the audience in the most effective and thrilling manner, powerfully contrasting Christianity and slavery, and by her earnest and affecting appeals, carrying conviction to every sympathizing heart, that her deep utterances were indeed from the heart. So earnest and captivating was the manner of the speaker, that her audience were gradually led on, till unawares they found themselves willing listeners, and warm admirers of language so strong, and denunciation so severe, that, had it come from the lips of that truly noble and faithful servant of God, Parker Pillsbury, it would have been deemed unworthy of Christian toleration. All whom I meet express themselves perfectly delighted with Miss Holley, and say they never felt so aroused in the cause before. I humbly hope this new zeal will not prove as did that of many who read 'Uncle Tom,' and declared themselves willing to live and labor, and almost to die, for the slave. Some were willing 'to work their very fingers off' for the slave, while reading 'Uncle Tom,' but their fervor soon cooled. Seemingly, their hearts are more cold than before.

I trust this new interest will not only continue, but will increase, and manifest itself by decisive action and warm advocacy of the principles of eternal truth and justice.

At the close of the lecture, Miss Holley presented the claims of The Liberator in a most truthful, persuasive and convincing manner, naming its editor, terms, &c. A collection of seven dollars was taken, also a collection of six dollars on Friday, which, after paying expenses of the hall for the two evenings, and warming it the first, six dollars were left for Miss Holley's services and travelling expenses. Much effort was made to avoid this unreasonable expense for a house. More than a week previous to the lecture, application was made for the Unitarian House, to be opened at five o'clock. It being already warmed, we should avoid the expense of heating the Town Hall. The committee on the house being all professed anti-slavery men, (Free Soil, of course,) and the fact of Miss Holley having been one of the earliest advocates and earnest supporters of Unitarianism in Western New York, and having been often invited to preach in Unitarian pulpits, being made known to them, the abolitionists felt confident of the use of the house. After a week's deliberation, the committee came to the conclusion that we could have the *vestry*. This we did not apply for, did not wish for, the objection to it being, that it is a low, unpleasant, and ill-ventilated room.

Not a few abolitionists and some church members were highly indignant at this manifestation of servility and illiberality. It is a libel on the pure principles of Unitarianism, and unworthy a Christian community. In justice to Mr. Smith, the pastor, it must be said, he cordially expressed the hope that the house would be opened. I think the only excuse given for this cold denial is, that the parish do not wish to open their house (it being very nice) to any meetings except their own. And they are called *liberal* Christians ! From *such* liberality, O God ! deliver thy poor, perishing children !

Much credit is due Mr. Brigham (Trinitarian) for kindly consenting to open his church, provided the committee consented to it. *One* only being in town, he fully and independently gave his consent ; but as it was now Saturday evening, we could not confer with the other two. The result was, we occupied the Town Hall, and paid out money for the use of it, which in justice should have been given to the cause.

Allow me to add, that the Methodist house has been freely proffered to Miss Holley whenever she may choose to occupy it. I leave you to judge who is *liberal.*

It is not pleasant to me to record these unchristian acts, but fidelity to my brother man, both bond and free, demands that the false friends of poor, bleeding humanity, be exposed.

Begging pardon for troubling you with so long a letter, I subscribe myself,

Very truly yours, F. H. D.

☞ We are requested to state that Miss Sallie Holley will speak on the subject of American Slavery, in the First Congregational Church in North Bridgewater, on Monday evening, April 4.

ANTI-TOBACCO MOVEMENT AMONG LADS.

Moses Grant, Esq. :

Sir,—The great interest you have shown in my anti-tobacco labors, particularly in schools, justifies me in addressing to you a few words in this public form. Owing to the general use of tobacco, and the servile bondage it inflicts, there is much unbelief concerning the practicability of reform. There are excellent men who despair of any thing being done, and express the opinion, that in process of time both Church and State are destined to sink under the power of this popular poison. Now, whatever fears may exist concerning those long victimized by this narcotic, there is much that is hopeful among the young. Having given much attention to this portion of the community, having addressed many schools and many thousand scholars, I assert with confidence, that while *no reform is more important*, none is more promising among the youth. There is salvation in this quarter. I know whereof I affirm.

Schools are every where accessible.

1. Parents, whether devotees of the weed or not, even to an individual, wish their sons to stand clear of it, and rejoice to have any thing done which tends to save them from a habit so demoralizing and despotic.

2. Teachers are generally right touching this matter. There has been a pleasing reform among this admirable class of men. In visiting schools far and near, I have met with but two teachers who did not give me a cordial reception. The many seem glad to have scholars addressed upon a theme so vital to cleanliness, order, temper, and good scholarship. Gentlemen, also, who compose School Committees, are usually moved by similar sentiments.

3. Scholars themselves are gratified by this movement. It strikes them as new and highly important, and they love the kind voice of any man who steps in to do them good, and to warn them against a habit which tends to manufacture slovens and slaves.

This mode of action strikes every one as eminently practical. It nips the evil in the bud ; it forestalls mischief, and is a prevention, rather than a cure. The habit is a boyish habit, formed in boyhood, and if not formed then, it is commonly never formed ; and, having passed this crisis, man stands erect and unfettered by the chains of this tyrant. In view of the vast cost, the waste of time, health and life—in a word, the many *alarming affinities* involved in the use of tobacco—how important is this movement among the rising and expanding thousands around us !

Now, my dear Sir, how shall a reform of this kind be sustained ? The State makes no provision, passes no laws, in behalf of such measures in her schools. We have no organized body of men, no societies, no authorised agencies to this intent. We have no public conscience, no public sensibility as to the evil in question ; the little that is being done, is done by individual ability, which will soon be exhausted, unless nourished with aid from some source. The death of Amos Lawrence, Esq., has been much lamented. Many choice rills of benevolence were stayed by that sad occurrence; but, in my opinion, no object and no cause suffered so severely by the event as the one I humbly plead. His mind began to grapple with the enormous evil tobacco was inflicting on individuals and the body politic. His heart not only began to grow warm towards the 'dear boys' in his favorite school, but towards the boys all over the Commonwealth. In an interview a little previous to his death, he said, 'My heart is much in this matter. I like the little book [viz., *Uncle Toby on Tobacco.*] I have sent copies to England ; I have sent a copy to the President elect, for his little son ; I have given three hundred to the Mather School ; I shall print another edition. I know not how far I may go, but I shall not stop until every boy in the State of any size has a copy. Each must be an anti-tobacco agent.' And such was his zeal and ability, that I doubt not, had the good man remained among us, this benevolent process had now been going on, and his benevolent intentions soon completed.

Now, it is true, my dear Sir, that there are other men 'like-minded,' precious men ; but they have not Mr. Lawrence's deep and large purse ; and one of the rarest objects that ever gladdens my eyes, is a man to whom God has given two things—money, and a heart to do real good with his money. The work to be done, like the evil it contemplates, is one of great magnitude. Schools of every grade should be addressed and pledged ; free lectures should be given to youths and adults. Books and tracts should be liberally distributed ; and I am of opinion that the time has come when the energies of good men should be *organized* against an evil that is coming in like a flood, that we perish not.

I address you, Sir, because I am no stranger to your kind emotions and benevolent acts ; because you were in full sympathy in this cause with Mr. Lawrence, your valued compeer. He is gone, and upon whose shoulders his mantle has fallen, I know not ; but I pray God that a life signally marked with benevolent actions on your part, much felt already, may not close, till it be more widely felt in rescuing fellow-men from this destructive poison.

Yours, with sentiments of much esteem,
Fitchburg, March 11, 1853. GEO. TRASK.

BUCHANAN'S 'JOURNAL OF MAN.'

Winfield, N. Y., Feb. 7th, 1853.

Mr. Editor :

I send you the first number of the '*Journal of Man,*' for 1853, hoping that, after giving it a perusal, you will feel inclined to notice it favorably in your paper.

The editor, (Dr. Buchanan,) as you will see by referring to the accompanying 'Opinions of the press,' is considered one of the most able philosophers and scientific discoverers that our country affords. He discovered the 'impressibility of the brain,' and established the system of 'Psychometrical reading,' that is beginning to attract so much attention among certain classes; and as you will see by the *Journal*, he has also developed a new system of Phrenology, or rather, what he terms 'Neurology,' which is far more minute and correct than the old system, in its practical application. That old phrenological practitioners are often able to describe character, I do not deny ; but, instead of doing it from *their* imperfect system, it is done Psychometrically.

I am aware that the '*American Phrenological Journal*' has done, and perhaps is *now* doing, a vast deal of good ; but for scientific men of high standing to pass by valuable scientific improvements in their own departments of science, unnoticed, and still continue to teach their old errors, in the eyes of truth and light, is a fact which sorrowfully reveals the reality of hypocritical pretences to reformation.

And may we not hope that The Liberator (which, of course, implies an instrument for the liberation of mind from the fetters of ignorance) will forward the cause of scientific development, by giving this work a liberal notice ? Yours, respectfully,

J. J. WHEELER.

Lecture by John C. Cluer. The cause of temperance among the colored citizens of Boston has recently received an impetus through the efforts of several young men, which have been nobly seconded by our good friend John C. Cluer. His lecture on Tuesday evening, at Zion Church, in West Centre street, was instructive, convincing and eloquent. His rare powers of wit and argument happily blended in producing an unusual degree of interest. Quite a number of men and women signed the total-abstinence pledge, and his promise to attend prospective meetings was greeted with evident satisfaction. W. C. N.

Boston, March, 1853.

☞ It is hoped that a quarterly meeting of the *Worcester County* (*South Division*) *Anti-Slavery Society* will be held at UPTON, on Thursday, April 7, (Fast day.) We regret that we cannot make a definite announcement. Members of the Society, and friends of the cause, are referred to the columns of the *Worcester Spy*, in which notice will be given early next week, if the contemplated arrangements are completed.—M.

☞ A meeting was recently held at the Tabernacle, N. Y., to promote the cause of temperance. The chief speakers, as well as all of the officers on this occasion, were females. Mrs. N. L. Fowler presided and made a brief speech. She was followed by Antoinette L. Brown, in advocacy of the Maine law. Mrs. Bloomer next addressed the meeting, on the statistics of intemperance, and the history of the efforts in different States to suppress it. Miss Anthony followed, in a long speech, in which the special interest of women in the temperance question was particularly considered. Mr. Horace Greeley made the closing speech. The meeting is said to have been very full and enthusiastic.—*Commonwealth.*

☞ Accounts from Rio Janeiro to January 13, state that a slaver had run into Mozambique channel with a full cargo of slaves, which were quickly disposed of at enormous prices. The Captain of the vessel succeeded in making his escape, but the vessel and crew were captured by a Brazilian cutter, and the crew thrown into prison.

Brazilian Slave Trade.—The correspondence between the American Minister to Brazil and Mr. Webster, which is called for by Mr. Seward's resolution, will bring to light some startling facts relative to the Brazilian Slave Trade, and show pretty conclusively that during the last two administrations, there has not been a very cordial co-operation on the part of our Government with Brazil to prevent our citizens from engaging in that traffic.

Railroad Accident.—An appalling accident occurred on Monday last, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 70 miles west of Cumberland. The passenger train ran off the track, killing eight, and wounding a number of others. The accident occurred when the train was descending a curved grade of 100 feet, to Cheat River. Two cars were thrown off, falling over one hundred feet into the river, turning four summersets in the descent. They contained 40 passengers, of whom eight were killed.

Fatal Accident.—A man was killed on the Providence and Boston Railroad, at the crossing near Mansfield, by the accommodation train from Boston, Saturday afternoon. He was crossing in a carriage. No damage occurred to the train.

Hayti.—Mr. B. C. Clark, whose 'Plea for Hayti' was published a few months ago, has prepared and published 'Remarks upon United States Intervention in Hayti, with comments upon the correspondence connected with it.' Mr. Clark is a Boston merchant, whose knowledge of Hayti qualifies him to speak on this question. This pamphlet deserves to be circulated throughout the country. It shows Mr. Commissioner Walsh's diplomatic operations in Hayti in their proper character.—*Commonwealth.*

The Ether Question. — Senator Walker, Chairman of the Select Committee on the Ether question, has reported a bill appropriating $100,000 to the discoverer of the anesthetic properties of Ether, and directing the issue to be tried in the Circuit Court to determine the discoverer.

☞ The last *La Grange Texas Monument* gives the particulars of a most heart-rending occurrence in that county. Mrs. Mary Hill, while riding out on horseback with her infant in her arms, was thrown from her horse into a ditch, the horse falling on her, and crushing both the mother and child to death.

Death of an Editor.—William C. Hamilton, Esq., one of the editors of the San Francisco Herald, but better known here as for several years an associate editor of the New York Herald, died at Acapulco on his passage out in the Golden Gate.

Died of Yellow Fever.—Within one year, five Newburyport captains,—Messrs. Pike, the two Coffins, Pillsbury, and Page,—have died abroad, of yellow fever.

☞ The Queen Victoria steamer, while on a passage from Liverpool to Dublin, struck on rocks off Howth, in a snow storm on the night of the 14th ult. and sank in fifteen minutes. She had 100 passengers, besides the crew. It is supposed that about fifty souls perished.

Lectures on the Women of Shakspeare.—We are informed that Mrs. E. Oakes Smith proposes, in the course of a few weeks, to deliver in this place several Lectures on the Women of Shakspeare. Mrs. Smith's genius exerted on a subject so congenial cannot fail to secure a fitting audience. Those who had the pleasure of hearing her lecture in Boston last year, will be rejoiced at another opportunity of listening to her eloquence.—*Commonwealth.*

☞ The *Tribune* states that the Rev. Miss Antoinette Brown has two invitations to settle as pastor of Religious Societies in New York—one of them in Troy.

☞ Emma R. Coe, we learn from our Ohio exchanges, is delivering lectures to large audiences in that State on the subject of Woman's Rights, &c. The papers speak strongly of her eloquence and power as an advocate of the rights of her sex.

☞ Mrs. Severance delivered a lecture before the Mercantile Library Association in Cleveland, last week. The press of that city bestow upon it the highest approbation.

☞ Mrs. M. Tracy Cutler has been delivering a series of lectures in Cleveland, embodying her impressions during a recent visit to England, France and Ireland. Judging from the sketch in the True Democrat, they were of unusual interest.

☞ The Hon. Andrew T. Judson, United States District Judge for Connecticut, died at Canterbury (Ct.,) on Thursday, 10th ult.

☞ Ex-Governor Williams, of Vermont, was found dead in his bed, at Rutland Vt., on the evening of the 9th ult.

☞ John Williams, a native of Boston, Mass, has been sentenced to death at Edinburgh, for the murder on the highway of an old man named Andrew Mather.

☞ A Baltimore mechanic has applied for space in the Crystal Palace to erect a steam engine, which, he says, will carry a steamship across the Atlantic in 36 hours.

☞ Concord, New Hampshire, has at last voted to adopt a city government. The question was taken on the third day of the annual town meeting, and the project was carried by 269 majority—828 yeas to 559 nays.

☞ Governor Clifford, with the advice of the Council, has appointed Thursday, the 7th day of April, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in Massachusetts.

☞ In all the New England colleges, there are upwards of 2000 students, about 500 of whom are pursuing theological studies.—*Lowell Adv.*

Buchanan's Journal of Man, for March, is out, discussing as usual important questions of anthropology. We learn from it that spiritualism is exceedingly prevalent in Cincinnati. The number of mediums, it states, is not less than *twelve hundred.* Those interested are of all classes, Jews, infidels and Christians, and 'the number of investigations are to be estimated by tens of thousands.'

A Whole Family Swept Away.—About a year since, a family by the name of Twombly started from South Malden for the West. The family consisted of the father, mother, five or six children, and an old man who had long resided with them. Shortly after arriving at their new home, the father and two children died. The mother, with the remainder of the family, started to return under the protection of the old man, and all are supposed to have been lost on the lakes by one of the disasters which occurred early in the winter, as nothing has since been heard of them.—*Boston Jour.*

The Sympathy of Despots.—Hildreth's 'White Slave,' which has had a great run in Europe, having appeared at London in five or six different forms, and in French, German, and Italian translations at Paris, Berlin, and Rome, has just had the crowning honor of being prohibited by the Pope. It must be the general spirit of liberty which the book breathes—the same cause which has led to its prohibition generally, south of the Potomac—or possibly its title merely, at which his Holiness has taken offence ; for we do not recollect that it contains any allusion to the Catholic religion.—*Commonwealth.*

New Orleans, March 28. A terrible steamboat disaster occurred in Galveston bay, Texas, on the night of the 23d. The steamers Neptune and Farmer were racing from Houston to Galveston, when the latter exploded, killing the captain, clerk, second engineer, and thirteen of the crew, and about twenty passengers were also killed or missing. Twenty passengers, mostly ladies, were saved.

New York, March 30. Radfield's pyrotechnic establishment, at Williamsburgh, blew up this morning, killing two persons, a girl and a boy, and fatally injuring, as is supposed, one of the workmen.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

CALL
FOR A GENERAL RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE,
WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A
YEARLY MEETING IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The various religious denominations of the land are arrayed against the progressive spirit of the age, and by their very structure, assumptions and regulations, cannot occupy a coöperative position, because they impose fetters upon freedom of speech and of conscience, by requiring a slavish conformity in matters of abstract faith and sectarian discipline. This has led and is leading to extensive secessions from such organizations in all parts of the country, leaving the seceders generally in a scattered and isolated condition, whose talents, influence and means might be profitably concentrated for the advancement of the world-embracing cause of Human Brotherhood, and who are yearning for some form of association at once simple, free and attractive.

The abuse of a good thing is not a reason for its utter rejection ; and organization, in itself considered, is not only proper, but may be rendered powerfully efficacious as an instrument in the hand of Reform, without impairing the liberty, detracting from the independence, or limiting the conscience of any individual ; though, from the nature of things, its perpetuation is not to be expected or desired, but it is at all times to be regarded as a means to an end, and to be discarded whenever it becomes an impediment to the progress of truth.

The Society of Friends has been a theatre of agitation for years, growing out of ecclesiastical domination on the one hand, and the demand for practical righteousness on the other ; a domination entirely at variance with the spirit of primitive Quakerism, seeking to suppress free thought, and to exclude from membership those whose lives are without blemish, whose example in word and deed is a burning and shining light, and who are seeking to know and do the will of God, at whatever sacrifice ; a domination which has been deemed so intolerable, that in the States of New York, Ohio and Michigan, Yearly Meetings have been formed, two of which have taken the name of Congregational Friends, and two others that of Progressive Friends, and which invite to membership 'all those who look to God as a Universal Father, and who regard as one Brotherhood the whole family of man.'

In view of facts like these, and believing there is an extensive preparation of mind for such a movement, we cordially invite not only the members of the Society of Friends, but all those who feel the want of social and religious coöperation, and believe that a Society may be formed, recognizing the *Progressive Element* which will divorce Religion from *technical theology*, to meet with us in General Conference, at Friends' meeting-house at Old Kennett, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on First day, the 22d of Fifth month, 1853, at half past 11 o'clock, A. M., to deliberate upon such plan of organization as may commend itself to the judgment of those assembled, and to take action upon such other subjects pertaining to Human Duty and Welfare, as may appear to demand the attention of the assembly.

Amos Preston,	James Fulton,
Jonathan Lamborn,	Ann Fulton,
Moses Pennock,	Enoch S. Hannum,
Mary J. Pennock,	Enoch L. Taylor,
Benjamin Pyle,	Alice Eliza Hambleton,
Esther Hayes,	James Truman,
Castner Hanway,	Mary A. Truman,
Sumner Stebbins,	Simon Barnard,
Hannah Cox,	Sarah D. Barnard,
Jesse Pennock,	James Painter,
Hannah M. Darlington,	Esther Moore,
Oliver Johnson,	Ebenezer James,
James Meredith,	Rebecca L. Fussell,
Sarah B. Dugdale,	Ephraim Wilson,
William Barnard,	George Chapman,
Joseph A. Dugdale,	Richard Janney,
Eusebius Barnard,	Cyrus M. Burleigh,
Isaac Meredith,	Robert Purvis,
Thamazin Meredith,	Harriet Purvis,
Isaac Mendenhall,	Elijah F. Pennypacker,
Dinah Mendenhall,	Jacob L. Paxson,
Vincent Barnard,	Barclay Ivins,
Benjamin Kent,	Fannie Schofield,
Thomas Borton,	Mahlon B. Linton,
Beulah Borton,	Thomas Garrett,
Bartholomew Fussell,	Edward Webb,
Rebecca Fussell,	Rowland Johnson,
Ann Coates,	Henrietta Wallcott Johnson.

☞ LECTURE ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. —A Lecture on the French Revolution of 1793 (its Cause and Character) will be delivered in Washingtonian Hall, Bromfield street, on Monday evening, April 4th, at half-past 7 o'clock, by Parker Pillsbury, of Concord, N. H. Tickets of admission 15 cents, to be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, and at the door.

☞ REV. THEODORE PARKER will deliver a lecture in the Upper Town Hall, North Brookfield, on Wednesday evening next, April 6th, at half past 7 o'clock, on '*The True and False Idea of a Gentleman.*'

☞ REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the *Worcester County* (*South Division*) *Anti-Slavery Society*, will lecture in

Millville	Saturday eve'g,	April 2.
Blackstone	Sunday,	" 3.
Mendon	Tuesday eve'g	" 5.
Milford	Wednes'y "	" 6.
Upton	Thursday "	" 7.
Holliston	Friday "	" 8.
Hopkinton	Sunday "	" 10.

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak in

Lowell	Sunday,	April 3.
Middleboro'	Tuesday,	" 5.
Carver	Thursday,	" 7.
Plymouth	Sunday,	" 10.

☞ OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY. A quarterly meeting of this Society will be held in Carver, on the day of the annual Fast, April 7th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through the day. We hope our friends throughout the county will so arrange matters as to be present. Let the occasion be one of interest. The meeting will be addressed by Parker Pillsbury and others.

The meeting will be held in Cobb's Hall.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. Brigham, *Sec'ry.*

☞ NORFOLK COUNTY. The annual meeting of the *Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society* will be held on Thursday, April 7th, (the day of the Annual Fast,) at Union Hall, PORT NORFOLK. The meeting will commence at 10 1-2, A. M., and will continue afternoon and evening. Wm. L. Garrison, Rev. Daniel Foster, and other speakers will attend.

EDMUND QUINCY, *President.*
William I. Bowditch, *Sec'ry.*

☞ SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society, will lecture as follows :—

Abington, (Town Hall,)	Sunday evening,	April 3
North Bridgewater,	Monday "	" 4.
Portsmouth, (N. H.)	Sunday "	" 10.
Dover,	Thursday, "	" 14.

DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak in

Lowell,	Sunday eve'g,	April 3.
Weymouth,	Tuesday, "	" 5.
Quincy,	Wednes'y "	" 6.
Port Norfolk,	Thursday "	" 7.
Spencer,	Sunday	" 10.
West Brookfield,	Monday	" 11.

and following evenings, when he will give his course of Anti-Slavery lectures.

Ware,	Friday evening,	April 15.
Brookfield,	Sunday "	" 17.
Warren,	Monday, "	" 18.

☞ LOWELL. The *Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society* will hold their annual meeting in Wells Hall, in Lowell, on Sunday next, April 3, commencing at 10½ o'clock, A. M., and continuing afternoon and evening.

Rev. Daniel Foster, Parker Pillsbury, and other speakers will be present.

WILLIAM WHITING, *President.*
Concord, March 30.

☞ SPIRIT MANIFESTATIONS. The friends of the new Spirit Manifestations will hold meetings in the Town Hall, in Abington, next Sunday, April 3, at the usual hours of religious meetings ; and also on Saturday evening. S. C. Hewitt, J. M. Spear, and others are expected to be present, and speak of the things which concern the New Era. The meetings will be free.

MARRIED—In Brookfield, Mass., March 25, by Rev. W. B. Greene, Mr. William Doane to Miss Hannah R. Bacon, both of Charlton.

DIED—At Cummington, Brister Pierce, colored, said to be 100. He was formerly a slave in Worcester Co. and had been a pauper many years.

In Washington, 30th ult., of accumulation of water on the lungs, Mrs. Millard Fillmore, wife of the ex-President of the United States.

NEW BOOKS,
OF RARE INTEREST AND VALUE,
JUST PUBLISHED BY
JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY,
BOSTON.

OWING to the unparalleled draft upon our resources, during the past year, on account of the unexampled sale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest moment, and now offer them to the *readers of good books.* Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published speedily.

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OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE,
BY A PASTOR'S WIFE.

This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, *Sunny Side*, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work. It is written in an admirable style, and he who commences its perusal will hardly be able to stop until he has gone through. Price 75 cts.

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This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Muntor, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus. Price 62 1-2 cts.

THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST,
BY W. G. SCHAUFFLER,
Missionary at Constantinople.

A portion of this most admirably written volume of Meditations on the last hours of our Savior upon earth, was published some years since, and met with great favor from the religious public. The work has been re-written, and very much enlarged, and is again offered to the community. We would not say a word in its commendation to those who have read the volume as originally published. To those who love to go with the Redeemer of men, to meditate in the garden of Gethsemane, or upon the mount of Olives, or by the sea of Galilee, this volume will afford a vein of sacred thought. Price $1 00.

Dr. Beecher's Third Volume.

We have just issued the third volume in the series of the writings of this venerable and eloquent man, as has been lately said of him by some one, '*the father of more brains than any other man in the country.*' This volume contains his Views of Theology, and his celebrated Trial for Heresy before the Presbytery and Synod of Cincinnati, with a *superb steel Portrait* by Andrews. Price $1. *No clergyman's library is complete* without Dr. Beecher's writings.

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FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE
OF PENNSYLVANIA.
Fourth Annual Session.

THE next session of this Institution will commence on September 1st, 1853, and continue *five months*, closing on the 31st of January, 1854.

Persons wishing copies of the Announcement, or desirous of further information, will please apply, personally or by letter, to the Dean of the Faculty,

DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D.,
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April 1 tf

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE SLAVE-MOTHER'S CHOICE.

BY MRS. LUCY A. COLBY OSBORNE.

A ship lay rocking in a Southern port,
The tired sailors in their berths were dreaming,
And on the lighthouse and the ruined port
The quiet moon was beaming.

But one dark face up to the moonlit sky,
With fearful wildness in its looks, was turning,
And in the far deeps of her midnight eye,
A wild, strange light was burning.

Then gazing on her infant's sinless rest,—
Poor little being! born to pain and sorrow!—
She thought how rudely from her yearning breast
It would be torn to-morrow.

'They'll sell thee, O my child!' she wildly cried:
'They'll tear thee from the arms of thy poor mother;
And thou wilt have no kind friend by thy side—
No father, sister, brother!

'They'll tear thee from me, child, and send away
Thy mother to the rice-swamp, damp and dreary,
Where she must toil in scorching heat all day,
Sad-hearted, faint and weary!

'How I shall miss thee, child! my heart will pine
With its deep, earnest longing to behold thee,
To see thee, hear thee, press thy lips to mine,
And in my arms enfold thee.

'No! no! it must not be! *we will not part*,
While death can bring deliverance from our sorrow!
Down in this tide I'll still *thine* and my heart,
And dread no more to-morrow!

'Wake! wake, my darling babe! look down with me,
Where through the waves the hungry sharks are darting!'
We'll go to them—the sharp, short agony
Is less than that of parting!

A sudden plunge—a shriek of mortal pain,
And all the agony and grief are over!
The bright waves calmly settle back again,
And their dark horrors cover!

Danvers, March 20, 1853.

From the National Era.

LINES,

Suggested by reading a late State Paper, wherein the Higher Law is invoked to sustain the Lower one.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

A pious magistrate! sound his praise throughout
The wondering churches. Who shall henceforth doubt
That the long-wished Millennium draweth nigh?
Sin in high places has become devout,
Tithes mint, goes painful-faced, and prays its lie
Straight up to Heaven, and calls it piety!

The pirate, watching from his bloody deck
The weltering galleon, heavy with the gold
Of Acapulco, holding death in check
While prayers are said, brows crossed, and beads are told—
The robber, kneeling where the wayside cross
On dark Abruzzo tells of life's dread loss
From his own carbine, glancing still abroad
For some new victim, offering thanks to God!—
Rome, listening at her altars to the cry
Of midnight Murder, while her hounds of hell
Scour France from baptized cannon and holy bell,
And thousand-throated priesthood, loud and high,
Pealing Te-Deums to the shuddering sky,
'Thanks to the Lord who giveth victory!'
What prove these, but that crime was ne'er so black
As ghostly cheer and pious thanks to lack?
Satan is modest. At Heaven's door he lays
His evil offspring, and, in scriptural phrase
And saintly posture, gives to God the praise
And honor of the monstrous progeny.
What marvel, then, in our own time to see
His old devices smoothly acted o'er—
Official piety locking fast the door
Of Hope against three million souls of men—
Brothers, God's children, Christ's redeemed—and then,
With uprolled eyeballs and on bended knee,
Whining a prayer for help to hide the key!

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

NOBLE WOMEN.

Yes, noble women—not a few
The cause of progress grace,
Laboring with earnest zeal and true—
Brave champions of their race.

Child-like is one, whom wild romance
Has led through many a spot,
Where angels whisper, fairies dance—
For *her* where are they *not*?

But in that warm, impassioned heart,
Far deeper thoughts have stirred,
Which radiate as by magic art
From each electric word.

And one with pathos rare, and grace,
Pictured the 'Old Door Stone,'
But humbler scenes delights to trace
In sweetly sportive tone.

'Beauty and Dress' of *one* are themes;
But, trifler, not for thee
Her earnest thought that 'knows not *seems*'—
That dares *itself* to be.

Yet hers the graceful flower that bends
In breezes soft and free,
And with its lighter beauty blends
The *Oakes*' proud dignity.

Half hid in modesty's deep fold,
Another sweetly sings,
Yet in poetic prose has told
Of 'Little Country Things.'

Soft as the 'Summer Twilight' fall
Her lines upon the heart,
Till in our memories come they all,
A dear and holy part.

And she, the placid *Quakeress*, grave,
But gentle as the dove,
The noble spirit wisely brave,
So tempered well with love.

Her sex's fearless advocate—
But from unholy strife,
Winning by tones whose deepest weight
Springs from her blameless life.

And one in grace and wisdom *Grew*,
Till words of life and power,
Poured from her very soul, we view—
No trifler of an hour.

Blessings be on each righteous deed,
Wrought from life pure and bold,
And multiplied each scattered seed
A hundred, thousand fold!

But time would fail, were even the meed
Of praise bestowed aright;—
Ah! for such task well might I need
The pencil fair of light.

Thank God for this, that *not* a few
In graceful strength they stand,
Lovely, and dignified, and true,
The glory of our land.

G.

PERSEVERE!

Has fortune frowned, my honest friend?
Don't hang your head so low;
This is no time to falter now,
Up; strike another blow!
Don't sit, and groan, and grunt, and tell
What you have *tried* to do,
But place your shoulder to the wheel,
Strain nerve! *and put her through!*

THE LIBERATOR.

THE BIBLE QUESTION.

TRUTH AND JUSTICE COURT FREE DISCUSSION; ONLY ERROR AND CRIME FEAR EXPOSURE.

NEW GARDEN, Ohio, Jan. 23, 1853.

DEAR GARRISON:

Twenty-five years of your life have been devoted to the advocacy of the rights of the enslaved millions of this Republic. Great and numerous have been the difficulties with which you have contended. None has been more formidable, or more frequently urged, than your determination to maintain freedom of thought and speech for yourself and for all others, on all subjects. Nothing has seemed to me more unnatural or more unjust than the condemnation so often visited upon you, because, while you have made the abolition of war and slavery the great object of your life, you have uttered, and allowed others to utter, in your columns, their views of other matters that bear on the support of these crimes, and prevent the progress of truth and justice. The fears of many sincere, but mistaken friends of the slave have prayed you, with tears, not to allow any thing to be said in THE LIBERATOR about matters deemed sacred by them, even though, in your view, they may have sanctioned the wrongs you were seeking to abolish. Your warfare has been for the improvement and elevation of man. Of course, you have waged war against whatever, in your view, has been used as means to enslave, kill and degrade him.

You have contended against war and death-penalty, in all cases. From your first word uttered against *man-killing*, as a sin *per se*, the Bible has been cast before you as the great argument in favor of war and death-penalty. You raised your voice against *slavery*; the national answer was, 'You deny the Bible—that sanctions slavery.' The questions could not be avoided—Does the Bible sanction war?—Does it sanction slavery? You could not deny that it sanctions war and death-penalty, in their most revolting forms, though it has many precepts which utterly condemn them. You could not deny that it authorised buying and selling men and women as *bondmen and bondmaids*, and licensed those who bought them to scourge them to death with impunity, because they were their 'money'; though the book contains many stern denunciations against all oppression and cruelty. Your only course was, to deny that the Bible, or any book, has power to sanction war or slavery; and to affirm that nothing is true because it is in a book, nothing false because it is condemned by a book. This you have done, and permitted your correspondents to do. For one, I thank you, with all my soul. You and your coadjutors have been sent of God, to advocate man's 'right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' and to apply the principles of justice, truth and love to the individual and national crimes of the nineteenth century, as Jesus and the apostles did to such of the evils of their day as they perceived. What sort of a reformer had you been, had you admitted that *man's right to life and liberty depended on the construction and authority of a book written two and three thousand years ago?* You could only answer, had Moses and Jesus never existed, and had there never been a Bible, man's right to life, liberty and happiness had been as inherent and inalienable. In behalf of the victims of slavery and war, I bless you that you based your advocacy of humanity on the rock of *self-evident* truth, and not on the interpretations of Bibles and Constitutions. Not an hour could you have stood on any other foundation. The great contest has been between the self-evident truths and facts of human nature, and the interpretations of a book. As soon would I submit the question whether God or man had a right to be, to the decision of the Bible, as the question of the right or wrong of slavery and war. They are wrongs which no power in the universe can make right.

During the past four years, you have generously allowed me the opportunity, in THE LIBERATOR, to answer, in my own way, the argument from the Bible in support of war and slavery. Many whom I dearly love and respect, and whose zeal in the anti-slavery cause has been most commendable, have blamed me for writing and you for printing what I have written. Before me is a letter from such an one. The writer is perfectly frank in condemnation of my views, and deeply laments that they should have been allowed to appear in THE LIBERATOR; at the same time, the spirit of the letter is kind and tolerant. If you think the cause of truth would be subserved by it, I would thank you to publish the following extracts:—

'The death of DANIEL WEBSTER is a solemn and striking event at this crisis, and one which must carry an awful lesson to the minds of those who ponder it. He had sacrificed all principle and right for political power, and signally appropriate was the retribution in his sinking so very low in the scale of politics; and then, while all were looking on the sad spectacle of this fallen star, behold! he is summoned before his eternal Judge.

'We read THE LIBERATOR with great interest, and much enjoy its real anti-slavery character, and the raciness of its true abolition principles. But we do deeply regret that there should so often be contained in its pages articles which quite prevent our making the use of it we should like. I trust thou wilt bear with me when I say, that some of thy letters grieve us exceedingly, both on thy own account and on that of the cause, which they might tend to injure. I allude particularly to that letter in which thou speaks approvingly of Paine's 'Age of Reason,' and would advocate its sentiments for adoption rather than the Bible. And couldst thou succeed in persuading men to thrust aside the Bible, *what wouldst thou have done for them?* Take from them a well of refreshing truth—a fountain of life, and a charter of liberty for every human creature. O! how I do wish thou wouldst pause, and take counsel with the inward monitor, and not of thy reason; but of the spirit of God, a measure of which is granted to every one, and pray that the veil may be removed from thy eyes, that thou mayst be able to read aright even the writings of Moses, and that a clear view of the divine workings may be granted thee; and that thou mayest perceive, ere it is too late, (as was the case with the miserable Paine,) where thy course of reasoning is tending.

'Wilt thou excuse my thus writing? The affectionate regard we have entertained for thee prompts my doing so; as also does my love for the cause of the poor slave, who is neglected while thou tearest in shreds the written charter of his liberty, and while thou throwest obstacles of a painful nature in the path of his friends; for while we continue to hold the broad catholic ground of anti-slavery union, it is rendered infinitely more difficult by unnecessary hindrances such as I have referred to. We all unite in kind remembrances to thee, whose fearless, single-minded, disinterested advocacy of anti-slavery while with us is not forgotten by any of us.'

Dear Garrison,—through THE LIBERATOR, let me assure the writer of the above, that but one thing in it needs an apology—her contemptuous thrust at Thomas Paine, whose writings, political and religious, I presume, she never read, and of whose life and death she knows nothing, except through those whose interest it has been to misrepresent and blacken his motives and his character. If I owe a confession and apology to the memory of any man of the past, I owe it to that of the author of 'Common Sense' and of the 'Age of Reason.' Deeply do I lament that my soul was so utterly hardened against the personal character of a fellow-being by the falsehoods which priestly and political despots, and revengeful bigots, have uttered against Thomas Paine. In the great future, it will be known to whom the term 'miserable' will most truly apply, to Thomas Paine or to his accusers. I would rather prefer to meet the God of truth, justice and liberty in judgment as Thomas Paine, than as one of his priestly or political defamers. Paine vindicated God against what he considered blasphemy, and man against what he considered an insult and a wrong; for which all manner of evil has been said against him by 'the powers that be' in Church and State. What would the Church and Priesthood say, if, on the record of eternity, they should find the name of Thomas Paine put down among the blessed for having vindicated God and Humanity against their blasphemy and their ignorance? Such a thing is possible. Before me is a Life of Paine, by G. Vail of New York. If the writer of the above would read it, I think she would never allude to him again as she has done.

I would say to my friend, I have taken long, deep and earnest counsel of the 'inward monitor'; and the 'spirit of God' has assured me that a God of justice and love never required a slave to obey his master, or men to obey every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake—that he never authorised the buying of men and women as bondmen and bondwomen—that he never authorised the owner to scourge his bondmen and bondmaids to death with impunity, because they were his 'money'—that he never sanctioned polygamy and concubinage, and the massacre of 'infants and sucklings,' for the iniquity of their ancestors—that he never instigated human beings to revengeful, aggressive, and exterminating wars. The spirit of God in my own soul has taught me this. I would ask my friend, Has not the spirit of God in your soul taught you the same?

As to the *friends of the slave*, who are they? Those who deny that God ever sanctioned war or slavery, or the slaughter of men, women and children, and buying of them as bondmen and bondmaids, or those who say he has, and may do so again? There can be no greater obstacle to peace, than to admit that God once sanctioned war; and they are the most formidable enemies of anti-slavery, who say that God authorized the buying and selling of men and women as bondmen and bondmaids, and that he requires slaves to obey their masters, and subjects to obey their rulers.

The Bible the charter of liberty to the American slave! Alas! it has been made the very citadel of protection to the oppressor, and of wrong and outrage to the oppressed. Nothing has so conduced to rivet and perpetuate the chains of the slave as the Bible—*as it exists in the minds of the American people.* So far as my convictions are concerned, it matters not what Moses or Jesus said on slavery or war. So far as my right to life and liberty is concerned, I will submit the question to no authority, tribunal, or being out of my own soul. I know that man, or being, or church, or government, sins against Nature and Nature's God, who assumes over me, or any human being, THE RIGHT TO SAY WHAT I SHALL DO, AND TO KILL ME IF I DISOBEY—the foundation of all slavery and war, and all governments of violence and blood.

Yes, dear friend, I have long listened to the voice of God in the depths of my own soul; I have forever ceased to listen to that voice, when, as it is said, it speaks in some other soul or book. Moses and the prophets, and Jesus and the Apostles, had a *measure* of the spirit of God for themselves; not for me, nor for you, nor for the slave, nor for the slaveholder. Each one has it for himself and herself, in every age and nation. I thank you kindly for your earnest and friendly prompting. I will go on to 'take counsel of the inward monitor and of the spirit of God' in *my* soul, not in any book, nor in the soul of Moses, or Jesus, nor of any other. To God in *my* soul, and in nothing else, will I give heed. Him will I follow, as he is revealed in my own soul. As I listen to Him there, he assures me he never authorized man to perpetrate any kind of outrage upon man. As I listen to what is called the voice of God, as he speaks in some parts of the Bible, do I learn this? Do I learn that polygamy, oppression and war were never sanctioned? Judge ye.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

THE LIBERATOR AND FREE DISCUSSION.

ROSE DALE, near Alleghany City, Penn., March 3, 1853.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—I send you my subscription for the past year, though I did not, in consequence of the postmaster officially returning my paper, get it from November, 1851, to May, 1852. Would that I could send you ten times the amount; it would then be but an atom compared with the magnitude of the holy enterprise in which you are engaged. THE LIBERATOR, my old friend, I have tried and proved for twenty years. It is therefore always a welcome visitor, though with all the sentiments therein I do not accord, any more than yourself. But truth has nothing to fear, from discussion, in an honest mind, who seeks only to know and do the will of God. Though my religious sentiments are chiefly what the world calls Orthodox, (a term, by the by, becoming hateful from the support that that party, especially in this country, too much gives to 'the sum of all villanies,') yet I am for free discussion on all moral questions; being satisfied, that our heavenly Father would prefer honest error rather than hypocritical orthodoxy; and so I do, from my inmost soul. But how am I to test hypocritical orthodoxy? It is manifest in the man, who, while he professes to receive the law of Christ, i. e., 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' is at the same time fearing the *consequences* of preaching and applying this to *all* men; the man who loves the union of these States (cemented as they are with the soul's blood of the hunted slave) better than he loves the rights and happiness of the poor victim torn with bloodhounds; the man who loves pseudo-Christian churches, the bulwark of slavery, better than the law of love; the reverend fence-riders, who, for belly's sake, ('whose god is their belly',) preach to suit their audience and their latitude, rather than, for conscience's sake, declare the whole counsel of God, and leave the issue in his hands. Such men I am bound, on every principle of common sense, to consider chargeable with infidelity or hypocrisy of the worst kind.

Slavery is the most malignant, diabolical and exterminating system of warfare; and, therefore, the following lines of Southey, written *before* he was Poet Laureate, apply with greater force to the abettors of slavery than to war:—

———'But that the priest, with solemn mockery,
And monstrous faith, should call on God to lead
His armies forth, to desolate and kill,
And over the red banners of the war,
Even in the blessed name of Jesus, pour
Prayers of bloodier hate than ever rose
At Odin's altar!
———This is most foul,
Most rank, most blasphemous idolatry!
And better were it for those wretched men,
With infant victims to have fed the fire
Of Moloch, in that hour when they shall call
Upon the hills and rocks to cover them!'

While, in honesty, we are bound to call every action by its appropriate name, it seems to me that *pity* towards those who perpetrate or sustain the abominations of our land *ignorantly*, is the proper Christian feeling; and towards those who do such things *wilfully*, the deepest commiseration; for they are their own bitterest enemies, and are 'heaping up wrath against the day of wrath.' They now receive what are called their good things, and the poor negroes their evil things; but the reverse will take place by and by!

If it be true, that when the spirit leaves the body, kindred spirits here will be kindred spirits in the spirit world, and associate in their own appropriate sphere, are we to suppose that the 'Reverend' Dr. D. and S. and R., Bishop M. and T. will commingle with the slave-dealers, drivers and catchers, whose profession they now sustain, as hail fellows? Or will the former loathe their co-workers, and wrap themselves in their robes of dignity? Eternity will answer these questions. One thing we do know, 'If any man have not the *spirit of Christ*, he is none of his.'

In the last LIBERATOR, I have read, with much pleasure, the manly and truthful letter of F. W. Chesson; and note, especially, his remarks on the course taken by Dr. Campbell in the *British Banner*. For years, from the commencement of that paper, I could not but lament over its unhallowed course. With an intellect nearly equal to Webster's, as a professed *minister of Christ*, I consider him very little better. The *Banner* has been guided by a mind rash, resentful, and violent; with, occasionally, a petty meanness, that shows his utter unfitness to form the mind of others, on the true Christian model; and no better evidence of this than his affinity with *such* a paper as the *New York Observer!* Well, 'Uncle Tom' is about teaching the world; and if Dr. Campbell refuses to learn *of him*, he will soon find his own level.

Your friend, HENRY C. HOWELLS.

'THE BIBLE DISCUSSION,' &c.

MR. GARRISON:

I am glad to find that the advocates of the Bible are unable to frighten, with their 'pious' threats and denunciations, THE LIBERATOR from the true and manly position, that *both sides of every subject* (religion not excepted) *may have a fair and impartial hearing in its columns*. It is, however, nothing new or surprising for religion to shrink from investigation, or for its advocates to denounce and persecute those bold and manly seekers after truth, who insist upon bringing it in connection with light. Truth, like gold, shines brightest in the brightest light; while error is the more hideous. Truth courts investigation; error trembles at the thought. Truth reveals its purity the more it is rubbed; while error the more exposes its deformity and rottenness. Therefore, *any system that fears examination, thereby manifests its own error*; while those who denounce the investigation, openly declare themselves fools or knaves. If those who have ordered THE LIBERATOR stopped, because in its columns HENRY C. WRIGHT and JOSEPH BARKER's honest sentiments were made known, consider this too harsh, I may try to soften it a little for their especial accommodation. I am an Infidel; and Christians have my hearty consent to discuss the 'horrible doctrines of Infidelity' in every paper in Christendom, and all I ask is, that those wishing shall have the opportunity to reply. But they dare not do it, for reasons above mentioned.

I know there are some honest Christians (but that does not prove the system true;) and I know there are some dishonest Infidels (nor does that prove the system false). But, Mr. GARRISON, I want to ask you a question, though perhaps you have not been much acquainted with Infidels and their writings:—Did you ever know an Infidel, either in writing or in conversation, so destitute of good manners as to speak of the Christian Writers as St. Mat, St. Jack, St. Tom or Jo or Tim? And how do Christians speak of THOMAS PAINE? Yet who has labored more for Human Freedom than Thomas Paine, whom Christians have so belied, slandered and abused, both in life and death, and of whom they know so little? Who, indeed, before the 'AUTHOR HERO OF THE REVOLUTION,' wrote against the slavery of the Africans in this country? Benjamin Rush says, in a letter written July 17, 1809—'About the year 1775, I read a short essay, with which I was much pleased, in one of Bradford's papers, against the slavery of the Africans in our country, and which I was informed was written by Thomas Paine. This excited my curiosity to be better acquainted with him. We met soon afterwards at Mr. Aitken's bookstore, where I did homage to his principles and his pen, on the subject of the enslaved Africans. He told me it was the first piece he had ever published here.'

If Christians would make themselves acquainted with the character and writings of Thomas Paine, they would, if honest, repent of their abuse of him. No man has done more for Freedom in this nation, though a degenerate, oppressive, and blood-stained government has exerted all its powers to drive her from the continent; and, strange to say, some of the professed followers of Thomas Paine are its firmest supporters and defenders, and have tried to stop the mouths of those who would raise their voice for freedom for all mankind. And the publisher of the Boston *Investigator*, a professedly 'free paper,' is among that class, as I will show in another communication, if you will give me leave. But I must close.

Mr. Garrison, you have my warmest sympathy in the cause in which you are engaged; for I, too, while I live, shall battle in that cause. This I can do in a weak way, though far from you. I breathe the free air of the prairie, between Cedar and Wapsipinicon rivers, and while I breathe that, I will endeavor to speak my free thoughts.

Yours, for the downfall of slavery, and every institution that sanctions and sustains it,

MATTHEW FARRINGTON.

Nautrille, Bremer Co., Iowa, Feb. 14, 1853.

BORROWED 'GLORY.'

BY SHARPSTICK.

Rev. W. I. BUDINGTON, of the First Congregational Church in Charlestown, Mass., has preached and printed a sermon entitled '*Our Puritan Fathers our Glory.*' The bare appellation of the discourse is so suggestive, that I shall find in that phrase alone sufficient topics of remark for one article.

This sermon was preached at the dedication of a church edifice that had been rebuilt in 1852, by the society of which Mr. B. is pastor. It is reported to be a very splendid and luxurious concern in its internal arrangements, while as to externals, its arched windows and gilded cross are calculated to gratify the 'pride of the eyes' more perfectly than the outside fixtures of any other synagogue in town. Next to the 'Puritan fathers,' Mr. B. and his flock doubtless take 'glory' in their showy meeting-house.

Some fifteen months since, before this church was rebuilt, I attended a meeting in it where discussion was had upon the religious condition of the poor, and a Minister at Large laid before the audience a mass of facts which he had gleaned in the highways and byways of the city. These facts were both painful to hear and disgraceful to think upon, in view of the money and effort lavished to cut a swell in meeting-houses round about us. Many of the speakers confessed the delinquency of the pretended disciples of Him who 'came to seek and to save that which was lost,' and seemingly most penitent among these confessors of delinquency stood up Mr. Budington himself. One would have thought, to hear such melancholy details of the impiety, ignorance, want, degradation and suffering in existence right under the shadow of half-a-dozen steeples, and to hear, furthermore, the stirring appeals and good resolves promulgated by many an animated speaker, that strenuous efforts would immediately be made to distribute groceries and gospel truth, shirts and sympathy among those perishing children of God. *That* would have seemed to be a true Christian method of gaining 'glory,' patterned upon the life and teachings of the Galilean carpenter's son. Yet those stirring appeals had no permanent effect, and those good resolves bore no substantial fruit. During half of the year 1852, no Minister at Large was sustained in Charlestown, and the one who is now employed receives not one-tenth the pay for doing proper ministerial work, that the squad of 'evangelical' parsons receive for reading stupid theological lectures. Ten months since, the First Congregational Church of Charlestown voted, in substance if not in form, to let the perishing children of God among them grope on in their darkness and 'die in their sins;' so it passed them by on the other side, hurried off to Vanity Fair, and bargained for some visible and earth-born 'glory,' in the shape of a magnificent house of worship, a superbly-toned organ, and a steeple, which, if it originated where common rumor states, should have had that origin indicated by being built like unto a decanter surmounted with a pair of crossed toddy-sticks. Expense of the whole ecclesiastical show-box and rigging, $18,000!

Is it strange that, after such a departure from acknowledged duty, Mr. Budington should feel it necessary to borrow a little 'glory' from a past generation of men, to avoid the consciousness of mean and faithless behavior? How can he and his society experience real gratification in their dainty and flaunting 'temple to the Lord,' when they know *He* asks 'mercy and not sacrifice,' and commands them to visit and carry blessings to the dirty and freezing hovels of the 'Lord's little ones'? The shame of neglecting this great outward duty of Christianity must be covered up, somehow; and to no crew of notorious characters in the world's history could a slave-catching, rum-tinctured, hunker-ridden corporation of this day so well go to borrow 'glory' as to the Puritanic Indian-shooters, Negro-stealers, Quaker-floggers, Baptist-banishers, and witch-hangers of two centuries ago. The barbarous 'glory' of those old 'coves' is very faithfully reflected, in several leading beams, by the churches which love to laud them to the skies.

I will not deny that the Puritans had decided merits—they fostered education, stimulated industry, encouraged self-reliance, and so planted the seeds of ultimate free government; but they had likewise great faults, and, testing their whole conduct by the highest precepts of the Book which they pretended to obey, I think their fund of 'glory' would not suffice to impart any honorable 'shine' to a vast number of their own deeds. How, then, could they be regarded as having 'glory' to lend?—unless, as remarked above, the lurid and unnatural glare of their persecuting, exterminating policy finds a true mirror wherefrom its rays are cast in the compromising, fashion-loving churches that stand across the track of every reform.

THE SABBATH DAY—INFIDELITY.

At a meeting of the friends of the anti-slavery cause, held in the Town Hall, Fall River, March 13, 1853, the following resolutions were adopted, and a vote passed that they be offered for publication in the papers of the village, and in THE LIBERATOR.

The last resolution was called forth by some remarks contained in a lecture, delivered by one of our clergymen before the Athenæum, on the 'Mission of America,' in which he said that our success in self-government, and the security of our individual rights, was such as to make us a spectacle to angels and to men, and one which disturbed the oppressors of the old world, &c.

J.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, men who profess it is peculiarly their office and duty to speak truth to the people, have seen proper to assail the character of our meetings, denouncing us as Sabbath-breakers and infidels, and as violating God's commands as to who shall and who shall not be public teachers and speakers; and whereas, we desire no concealment of our real principles and motives, even hoping that those who are now arrayed against us may speedily repent of the many sins they have committed and are now committing against the slave, and take up earnestly and consistently the laboring oar in his behalf; therefore,

Resolved, That those who assert that we profane the Sabbath day, in using it as we do to plead the cause of the slave, to infuse into the public mind those great principles of liberty, of justice, and of human brotherhood, without which religion and government are powerless for good, may find a prototype of themselves in the Pharisees of old, who wished to destroy Jesus for healing in the synagogue on the Sabbath day.

Resolved, That our infidelity, as abolitionists, does not consist merely in speaking a few words of sympathy occasionally for the slave, and all the while throwing the mantle of religious and political brotherhood around his oppressors, as does the American Church; neither does it consist in defending slavery, or the iniquitous laws designed for its security, as approved of God, and demanding the obedience of men, as do many Doctors of Divinity, and prominent ministers in the American church—men who, notwithstanding they

'Torture the pages of the hallowed Bible,
To sanction crime, and robbery, and blood,
And, in Oppression's hateful service, libel
Both man and God,'

are still regarded as the lights of the church, and the teachers and expounders of its doctrines;—but rather, that our infidelity does consist in appealing to the religious and humane sentiments of the people in behalf of the oppressed; in proclaiming and vindicating that higher law,

'Whose tables in the heart are set';

in calling upon all who reverence God and acknowledge the claims of human brotherhood to labor earnestly for the redemption of the slave, and to free themselves from all participation in his oppression; in stripping off the mask which a pro-slavery religion or heartless custom may have thrown round the oppressor, and holding him and his apologist up to the world as violators of the cardinal principles of Christianity, and the greatest enemies of the rights of man.

Resolved, That the attempt of one human being to dictate to another, who is equally responsible to God for the use made of his or her capacities and powers, in what manner and under what special restrictions and limitations those capacities and powers shall be used in the cause of truth and humanity, whether done in the name of religion, or under some less specious covering, is a flagrant infringement of personal freedom, and a practical denial of each individual's moral accountability to God.

Resolved, That whatever may have been the designs of Providence in permitting us to become a separate nation, in our present position, professing, as we do, to believe in the inalienable rights of man—boasting of our love of liberty and our sympathy with the oppressed the wide world over, while every sixth man, woman and child in our nation is a slave,—the tyrant master regarded as a Christian brother, and not a foot of our extended territory where he may not legally pursue his victim, and drag him back to bondage, we are a spectacle to angels and to men which may well provoke the scorn and derision of the tyrants of Europe, and enable them to grasp still more complacently and firmly the rod of despotic power.

'MEN, NOT PRINCIPLES.'

The practice of theological newspapers to rely on authority rather than reason is well illustrated by a sentence in the *Puritan Recorder* of 17th ult. The editor informs his readers, that the British ministers have taken up in earnest the case of the persecuted Madiai; that their case came up in Parliament, and that Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston spoke with great power in their favor, perfectly annihilating the arguers on the other side. After which the editor adds—'But the *arguments* of Russell or Palmerston are of little value, compared with the moral force, which will go out from the noble spirit which they exhibited.' In another column, the New York correspondent of the *Puritan Recorder* says,—

'The 'Prison Discipline Association' held its Anniversary this week, in Metropolitan Hall. This Society is irrecoverable in the hands of the 'Woman's Rights' party, and two of its speakers were infidel women.'

If we could but get access to a file of the *Jerusalem Recorder*, of the period when the road between Jerusalem and Jericho was so much infested by thieves, I am confident we should find a communication signed 'Priest,' or 'Levite,' accusing the Good Samaritan of being an infidel. It is singular, to say the least, that infidels should be more assiduous than those who 'profess' to be Christians, in doing the very thing which Jesus, (in his parable of the last judgment,) declared the chief requisite for admission to heaven, namely, visiting the prisoner and relieving the distressed! Even more singular is the innocent simplicity with which the Priestly and Levitical tribe (is not 'Levite' Hebrew for 'Deacon'?) read from time to time the story of the good Samaritan, and the rebuke of John for forbidding the miracle-worker who *followed not with him*, and the express declaration, 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he who doeth the will of my Father'—without perceiving the bearing of all these against themselves. But the most singular thing of all is that the great mass of our community, with the Bible in their hands, and the power of reading it, and the amount of culture of the reasoning faculty which they possess, should still value 'profession' more highly than principle and practice, and should regard those whose trade is to cry 'Lord, Lord,' as the chief exponents of Christianity.—C. K. W.

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